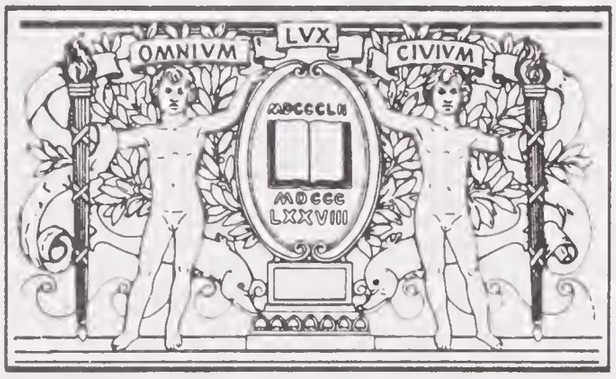
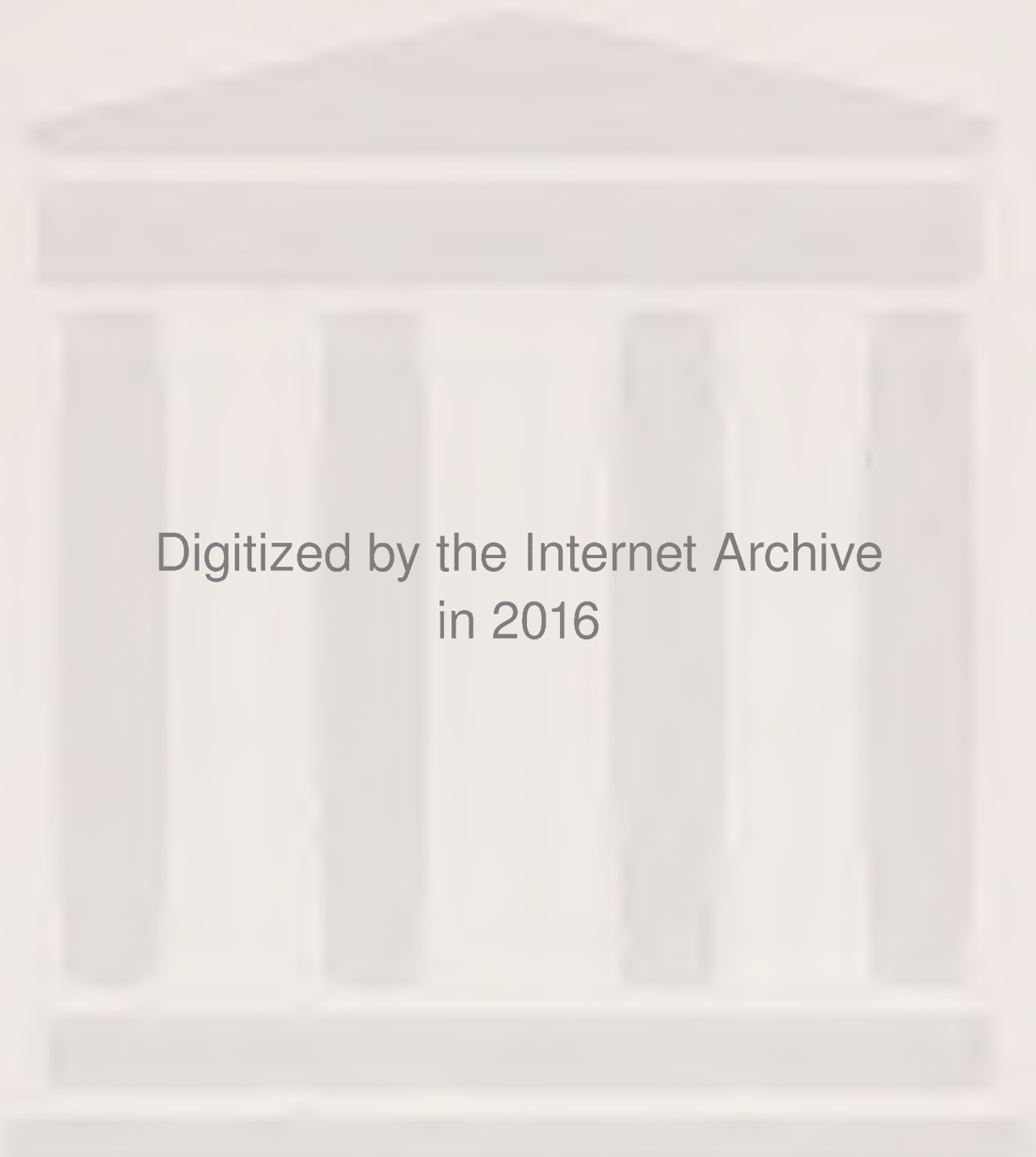
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The Complete Works of

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JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

Volume II



Washington Irving

1820

WASHINGTON IRVING

JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

Volume II, 1807-1822

Edited by
Walter A. Reichart and
Lillian Schlissel

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W. A. R.
L. S.

Ann Arbor, Michigan
Brooklyn, N. Y.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1810, at twenty-seven, Washington Irving was a young man still uncertain where his real abilities lay. He had received a considerable measure of acclaim with the publication of *Salmagundi* and *The History of New York*. Other young men, his contemporaries and friends, were already at their literary tasks: Gulian Verplanck, Samuel Woodworth, Fitz-Greene Halleck, John Howard Payne, all were writing. Irving had traveled widely, in America north as far as Canada, and in Europe south as far as Sicily. Between 1810 and 1815 he dabbled in several careers: he ventured into the law, and into his brothers' business; he briefly assumed the editorship of the *Analectic Magazine*, and for twenty-two weeks, he was Colonel Irving in the New York State Militia. Yet for all his forays and his advantages, necessity had touched him lightly, and the period was no more in his life than a chronicle of "indecision, idleness, and puttering."[1]

In June, 1815, Irving set sail again for Europe, where what was to have been a holiday became a sojourn of seventeen years. The bankruptcy, in 1818, of the firm of P. and E. Irving, dealers in "whitehead, glassware, Epaulets, Sword Knots, Sashes, Hardware, &c,"[2] though a bitter experience and one that marked him for many years, proved the very spur that made him write in earnest. The journals and notebooks between 1815 and 1822 provide a fairly continuous record of Irving's transformation of himself from the dilettante into the professional writer. They allow us to follow him through the creation of *The Sketch Book* (1819–1820) and *Bracebridge Hall* (1822), and reveal many of his idiosyncrasies and habits of composition. The journals reveal, too, how indispensable travel was – the rhythm of the coach on the road and the change of scenes to start the imagination.

Matilda Hoffman's death in April, 1809, left Irving listless and melancholy. He retired to the country for two months, spent at the home of his friend, Judge William P. Van Ness, at Kinderhook on the Hudson. Partly to fill his days and partly to look after his brothers' business interests in the state capital, he traveled to Albany in February, 1810. Journal entries show him little concerned with politics or with the implications of Federalist and Republican policies for New York busi-

1. Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), I, 130; hereafter cited as STW.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 126, copied from *New York Gazette*, March 1, 1811.

ness. His accounts of the political scene are perfunctory, but personalities interested him. New York politician Jonas Platt he described as "serene in virtue . . . with a character pure, spotless and unchangable [*sic*] . . . ," while his antagonist was "bloated up by arrogance . . . and maddened by desperate fortunes." But Irving's interest was soon exhausted, and he returned home. In June, he sought congenial surroundings for his melancholy spirits and visited the estate of Captain Frederick Philipse, Highland Grange, a house set one hundred and fifty feet above the Hudson River. He took with him Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, a telescope, and his flute. For ten languid days, he studied the river and the highlands, and then journeyed, alone, to Newburgh, New Windsor, Peekskill, and Haverstraw. The journal of 1810 is the single account that we have of Irving's travels in America during this period.

His readings were wide and eclectic: Goldsmith, "my favourite Herodotus," Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Chaucer, Pope, and Dryden. He was working on his notes for the introduction to Thomas Campbell's poem "Gertrude of Wyoming," rewriting his characterization of Diedrich Knickerbocker, and dabbling in the mysteries of life as interpreted by the Rosicrucians. The day journal was a net for the "loose-fish" of his mind.

The most significant writings of the year are the descriptions of the Hudson highlands, those immediate responses of Irving to the landscape that foreshadowed the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Rip Van Winkle." The Hudson and its highlands provided Irving with a considerable portion of his tutelage in writing. His descriptions in 1821 are among the most revealing passages of Irving's private writings and echo a journal entry of 1812, where he noted that "The Idea of a broad & at the same time deep & unobstructed river fills the mind—Possesses Sublimity."

For my own part I thank heaven that I was born among some of the loveliest scenery in the world. The remembrance of the Hudson, that noble river, which was the wonder and delight of my boyhood, remains with me as a kind of mental property. But it is not the recollection of its sunny reaches, its broad unruffled bays, its woody mountains, its long melting promontories, tinted as they are in memory . . . that have with me the greatest charm. I recall the early ideas of the beautiful and sublime that were awakened by that glorious stream. There was an Epic simplicity and grandeur about it that filled my mind. My imagination clothed it with moral attributes. There is a noble sincerity in its ample and deep current; always full; never presenting a smiling shallow surface to cover the lurking rock or the perfidious [*break in manuscript*]

The Hudson was for him what Walden Pond was for Thoreau and the

Mississippi for Mark Twain. Painstakingly, Irving drew it in its different aspects. In the morning he wrote of a "Fine clear day — open country in the distance — river far below me — sound of cow bells from a little fresh pasture in a nook of the shore opposite shaded with large trees — dislodge several sheep that had taken lodging in [gun] magazine — " He described the same scene at night: "Deep gloom . . . light from a candle across the river — noise of insects — tinkling of cowbells — dull sounds from opposite shore — perfect calm — water indistinctly seen here & there fire flies." And he returned in the morning: "Sky perfectly clear — river like a glass — in some places almost black from the dark shadows of the mountains — in others the colour of the heavens — long sheets of mist suspended in mid air half way up the mountains — roll of a drum from West Point." His descriptions, even when brief, followed a pattern: first the distant scene and the faraway images; then the scene closer with its details, the sheep, the fire flies, the candle; lastly the sounds of the river as they came to his ear, the cowbells, the roll of the drum.

The view that Irving cherished and repeated in later writings until it became almost his imprint upon the American pieces was the Hudson in the stillness of midday. "Clear serene day — scarcely a breath of wind — Perfect stillness of the landscape excepting the steady chirp of a cricket and the notes of the grasshoppers — Sloops with flapping sails floating on the glassy bosom of the river — Sloops at a distance on the glassy surface — seem as if suspended in the air." The image of the glassy bosom of the river would appear in "Rip Van Winkle," where Irving noted the "glassy bosom" of the Hudson, in "Rural Life in England," where he wrote of a "glassy lake," in "Dolph Heyliger," where there would appear "glassy water," and in other tales as well. The image of the perfect stillness of the Hudson reappeared in Irving's philosophical contemplations of the nature of the American character as late as 1821.

The 1810 journal reveals too, as do all of Irving's private writings, the recurrent moods of melancholy and despondency. Traveling alone, as he would rarely ever do again, he noted "I ruminate on hopes disappointed — on lives that have ended in sorrow and of friendships that have faded & decayed away." The day journal also bears witness to the economy with which Irving would husband his modest resources as a writer. The smallest of details and the merest scraps of stories are woven into tales and essays completed years later.

When Irving sailed for England in June, 1815, he had not settled on a career in America. A conservative and ambitious young man, he found literature too precarious a perch, and yet his composition of stories and tales was the sole enterprise for which he felt any real affinity. With a sense that he was indulging himself in a grand holiday,

he went to join his sister and her husband, Henry Van Wart, in Birmingham. "I am," he wrote to his friend Brevoort, "like another being from what I was in that listless period of existence that preceded my departure from America. It seems as if my whole nature had changed – a thousand kind feelings and affections that had lain torpid, are aroused within me – my very blood seems to flow more warm and sprightly."[3] Almost immediately upon his arrival, he joined James Renwick, whom Columbia University had appointed professor of chemistry in 1812, and the two young men, in high spirits, set out to explore the countryside. From Birmingham they traveled through Kenilworth and Warwick, to Stratford-on-Avon, and then on to Wales.

Irving was an indefatigable traveler. The journals show him in almost daily passage, along rocky roads, from Bristol to Chepstow, to Tintern Abbey, to Monmouth along the winding river Wye, to Ross, Hereford, Leominster, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, to Ellesmere and Wrexham, to Llangollen, Corwen, and Cernioge, to Llanrwst and Conway, to Penmaenmawr, to Carnarvon and Beddgellert. He rode in carriages, in post-chaises, in gigs, preceded at one point by a hunchbacked boy who led the horses along the rough and mountainous Welsh roads. Irving wrote of roads through mountains "bare, sterile & savage." They were up at dawn, taking tours of historic sites, sometimes housed in comfortable inns, at other times in rougher accommodations, hard put, but with a good humor. Irving and Renwick left Wales in what Irving describes as a series of "Rapid decents [*sic*], where post boy drives furiously . . . whirled along one moment, & dosing [*sic*] with fatigue and exhaustion the next . . . we are rattled after dark into Ruthin ———." They finally came out on the plains of Cheshire. In high fettle, Irving was delighted by the scenery he encountered. His comments were unsophisticated but enthusiastic. He noted that the "sky [was] coloured as in America," and that the hills between Chepstow and Tintern were much like the highland glens of the Hudson. Travel was exhilarating and his companion congenial.

Upon his return to Liverpool, however, Irving found that the firm of P. and E. Irving was deeply in debt and within a few months he wrote, "Woe is me! how different a being am I from what I was last Summer, when the Laird and I went forth Castle hunting among the Welsh mountains – ."[4] Through the fall and winter he worked over the firm's ledgers, vainly trying to borrow money and to relieve Peter, who was overwhelmed by impending bankruptcy and invalided by rheumatism.

Irving tried to keep up his own spirits, and this always meant travel.

3. Letter of July 5, 1815, to Henry Brevoort. See *Letters*, I, 399.
4. Letter of April 5, 1816, to Mrs. Jean Renwick. See *Letters*, I, 440.

He managed to take short trips to Birmingham and Derbyshire. He worked on a new edition of *Knickerbocker*, but for the greater part, 1816 was made up of "Anxious days and sleepless nights." The business moved toward the bankruptcy proceedings of 1818, and Irving admitted, "the struggle was certainly vain, yet the disgrace must be kept off as long as possible. There it was, day after day; work hard all day and then to bed late, a troubled sleep, for three hours perhaps, and then wake up; thump, thump, thump, at the heart comes the care. No more sleep for that night; then up and off to the coffee-house to see the wind dial; wind due east, due east, day after day, no ship can come in, payments must be made, and nowhere for remittances to come from. Then comes an invitation to a great dinner; must go to keep up appearances; sit at table half asleep, no life for any thing. . . ."[5]

But Irving had "life" enough during the dark months for him to enlarge his circle of intimate friends that included the writer John Kemble, the actor Charles Kemble, and the painters Washington Allston and Charles Leslie. He dined with the English publisher John Murray, and met the elder D'Israeli. Yet he yearned always for the release of travel and new vistas, and so in August, 1817, he sailed for Berwick-on-Tweed and Scotland. Once there, he joined the ebullient young American William C. Preston in Edinburgh. Preston, who was later to become United States senator from South Carolina, was a perfect companion, filling Irving's despondent moods with buoyant tales of the American frontier.

The failure of the business firm revealed starkly that Irving must make his livelihood himself, and that could mean only one thing, by the pen. "Irving," wrote Preston in his own autobiography, "decided that literature was to be his profession and the means of support."[6] The journal of Irving's travels in Scotland shows him deliberately collecting materials; his plan for *The Sketch Book* was already clearly in his mind. He discussed it with Preston and, during their travels, set down in fragmentary stages at least nine of the tales.

The high point of Irving's trip was his visit with Walter Scott on August 30. With a letter of introduction from Thomas Campbell, Irving stopped at Abbotsford and stayed four days. Scott's hospitality and friendship made a lifelong impression on Irving. Their conversations ranged wide; their interests and their outlooks were singularly alike.

Whether, during these conversations, Irving suggested to Scott the characterization of Rebecca in the novel *Ivanhoe* through his description of Rebecca Gratz has long stirred speculation. But whether, under

5. From an undated newspaper clipping "Autobiographical Notes of Washington Irving," STW, I, 151–52.

6. W. C. Preston, Manuscript Autobiography; STW, I, 165.

Scott's influence, Irving himself contemplated writing a novel is the question raised by the journals and notebooks published here. Running through Irving's notes from 1817 to 1818 are jottings that were clearly intended to form part of a novel or novelette – the story of "Rosalie," or "Rosy" as the name most often appears. But whether it was Preston who suggested the character to Irving, as Irving had suggested Rebecca to Scott, is a conjecture prompted by the evidence of the journals. Rosy was to have been a Southern belle, and her description owes much to Preston's description of his part of the country. Rosy is revealed by the flash of an ankle from beneath a skirt; she is a "great belle . . . surrounded by beaux – takes no notice of [her lover] Sings a song about indifference." The fragments that remain are scattered through several notebooks, *Tour in Scotland 1817*, *Notebook 1817*, *Notebooks 1818*, and as they may be reconstructed, suggest the plan for a meeting of lovers, a quarrel, and a reunion. At one point Rosy was to have been rescued from the great Richmond fire of 1811. It is most probable that Irving had the novel in mind when he set about copying extracts from different travel accounts of America into two long notebooks,[7] for the regions he meant to write about, the Shenandoah and the Blue Ridge Mountains country, were unfamiliar to him.

Although notes about Rosy appear in three separate notebooks of this period, the direction Irving was to follow would not be long fiction but the looser form and simpler demands of the essay and short story. As suddenly as they appeared all notes about Rosy ceased, and Irving withdrew from the heady winds of romance.

The Sketch Book was published in seven parts in 1819–1820 in New York and enthusiastically acclaimed. In England John Miller published it at Irving's expense in February, 1820, and after Miller's failure Irving signed with Murray for its publication in England. By mid-summer he had become the "most fashionable fellow of the day."[8] "Had anyone told me," Irving wrote Murray, "a few years since in America that any thing I could write would interest such men as Gifford and Byron, I should as readily have believed a fairy tale."[9] Yet Byron did indeed send compliments from Italy. Savoring success after the bitter months of despair, Irving packed his trunks in August and with his brother Peter crossed the channel for a vacation.

France offered a bright contrast to the rural scenes of England, and Irving responded with animation.

Havre–great houses–throngs on the Quay–various colours of the women's

7. See below, pp. 203–53, 257–63.

8. *Autobiographical Recollections: By the late Charles Robert Leslie*, ed. Tom Taylor (Boston, 1860), p. 230.

9. Letter of October 31, 1820, to John Murray. See *Letters*, I, 601.

dresses Every thing done out of doors rags & clothes fluttering from every window — chattering on the street. Monkeys and parrots — difference between neat quiet english town with few people moving silently about it & a clamorous & garrulous french town. . . . Every thing at sixes & sevens — women in long flaunting dresses — slender figures of the women — red shawls — high caps — dirt & finery in houses

At Le Havre, Irving and his brother were guests of the United States consul, Reuben Beasley. They heard much talk in that house about the formation of a Seine Steamboat Company with expectations of huge profits and great fortunes. The brothers' arrival in Paris was little more than a pause to accumulate their capital and dispatch letters of exhortation to William, Ebenezer, and John to join with them in the venture, and letters to Beasley and Edward Church in Le Havre to wait until the capital could be gathered. Peter returned to Le Havre and purchased shares to the amount of 10,000 dollars. But the Seine was not the Hudson, and the company failed. The steamboat company, and in later years speculation in Bolivian copper mines, both promising high fortune and financial independence, proved to be tantalizing will-o-the-wisps that led only to disappointment and a lean wallet.

In November Irving toured the Normandy countryside and visited with the family of the American businessman Thomas Wentworth Storrow. The country interested Irving more than did Paris. Even while he was living in that city, he did not respond to its art or its churches, its broad boulevards, or its cafés. He preferred the grand "nakedness of [the] Landscape near paris—Great plains tinted with yellow green &c . . . distant hills. . . ." Irving looked out from Montmartre on the still fields around the Seine, the regions of Meudon, St. Cloud, and St. Germain. His journal entries ignore museums and make no mention of the historic events or sites at a moment when the whole history of the Revolution was literally before him.

Irving passed the winter in the heady society of the old and new regimes. Thomas Moore was his guide and sponsor. He met the statesman Albert Gallatin, the playwright James Kenney, the poet Henry Luttrell. With the American dramatist John Howard Payne he visited the theaters and met the famed French actor Talma. Payne urged Irving to consider collaborating with him on a dramatization of "The Spectre Bridegroom," but whether it was the prospect of seeing his story produced at Drury Lane, or a weariness with the social distractions of Parisian life, Irving left Paris for England with James Kenney in July, 1821, to complete *Bracebridge Hall.*

The fragmentary journal entries for 1821 and early 1822, included in this volume, suggest the possibility that some manuscript materials of Irving's journals have been lost. Eager to retain a record of his

new acquaintances, Irving usually kept careful notes about his social contacts, and his journals for the years 1822–1826, when he resided in Dresden, Paris, and London, give detailed accounts of his activities. Yet no journals seem to exist for those first encounters with literary men at Holland House or Murray's drawing room in London or with Thomas Moore and his coterie of friends, Lord John Russell, George Canning, Sydney Smith, and James Kenney. Only the letters of Irving to Brevoort in the years 1820–1822 reveal his wide social contacts in London and Paris, once his literary fame was established. Perhaps the casual distribution of many parts of Irving's journals and notebooks to nieces, nephews, and numerous collateral descendants by the widow of Pierre M. Irving explains such lacunae.

While he worked manfully on a new manuscript, Irving became interested in other avenues of writing. He considered the possibility of dramatizing his own stories and began revising and adapting French and German plays for the English stage. He was also thinking of a series of essays on the theme of the American national character. His notes on American manners continue through his journals as late as 1826, and, in fact, he wrote at least ten essays on the subject although none has survived. He was both astute and perceptive in contemplating his native land from a European vantage point, and he wrote of his countrymen that the

> impatience of restraint, the neglect and almost contempt for minor observances, the restless spirit, speculative form and proneness to hyperbole with which Americans are charged, may be traced to the unsettled mode of their life — . . . to the frequent shiftings of place and occupation — the vast migrations they undertake — the wild scenes through which they pass and the grand and indefinite scale on which they are accustomed to see natural objects. He who is brought up among forests whose shades extend, he knows not whither — whose eye roves over plains of boundless extent — who looks forth upon inland seas where no opposing shore is visible, who sees vast rivers flowing down from he knows not whence and rolling a world of waters to the far distant ocean of which he has only heard. Who beholds every thing around him changing as if by enchantment — what was once a wilderness becoming a busy hive of population — what in childhood he saw a village grown into a city before he arrives at manhood — every where reality outstripping imagination surely it is no wonder that such a one should be speculative and hyperbolical.[10]

10. It might be noted in passing that it was Irving who, after his return from Europe, coined the now-famous phrase "the almighty dollar, that great object of universal devotion throughout our land," in describing the pursuits of his countrymen. See "The Creole Village," first published in the annual, *The Magnolia* (New York, 1837), pp. 315–26 (in *Works*, XVII, 45–56).

What ultimate value and quality his new projects might have had remains an open question. The essays have disappeared; the novel was never finished; some plays were adapted but are now forgotten. Irving backed off from the American materials, backed off from areas of his writing where he would have to rely upon his own observations and his own responses. Had he followed the bent and the strengths of his own talent, had he devoted himself more to the nuance and to the touch of American life, he might have stretched his talents. But he moved in the opposite direction. As the years progressed, he depended increasingly upon historical and antiquarian sources, upon foreign materials, translations, and adaptations of traditional or folk tales. He modified and embellished what others had created.

For all the abortive writings, for all the fact that he was seldom in any one place long, Irving completed *The Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall* in the four years ending in 1822. He sketched and set down with minute care the countless impressions of his travels, the inns, the travelers, the rooms, the roads. He worked diligently to produce publishable works, and to keep himself in tolerable spirits.

THE NOTEBOOKS AND JOURNALS, 1810–1822

A large portion of the manuscripts that fall into the period from 1810 to 1822 belongs to a group of notebooks, journals, extracts, and fragments published here for the first time. The notebooks are tiny artist's sketch pads, some only 2½ by 4½ inches, small enough to slip into a jacket pocket, and be packed and repacked many times. Entries are most often in pencil, and badly deteriorated; they consist of isolated words, phrases, sketches. Transcription is further complicated by Irving's idiosyncrasy of writing first in one direction, and then turning the notebook back to front and continuing in the opposite direction. At times, these small books contain information as trivial as a laundry list, a recipe, a medical prescription, a tailor's address; at others, they reveal the outline of a story, a dream, or a mood of despondency—"I dreamed that I was once more in my native home[.] everything around me looked as in my happier days. the mother that had so fondly cherished my childhood was hanging over me with looks of fondness—I awoke—in a strange land—poor sick solitary—desolate." In the three smallest notebooks, one dated 1817 and two 1818, Irving's handwriting is nearly illegible, and transcription approaches the art of cryptography; yet such attempts at decipherment fascinate the scholar. At times the words are smudged beyond recognition, or, if legible, may be as trite as the list "Celery, Red Cabbage, Cauliflower." But beyond the banal may appear one of those

reconstructions that show Irving working out a story from a detail first noted in 1803–1804. Something recalled to him the robber tales of Sicily, specifically the story of the peasant girl Angelina and her sweetheart Iacomo. To it Irving adds details of the exploits of the robber Musso, called Il Grande Diavolo. The bare framework is enlarged with a note about parental opposition to the romance, and the robber's assistance to the lovers. The light brush strokes are all preparatory to the *Räuber* stories he would write five years later for *Tales of a Traveller* (1824).

The second of the three notebooks is full of memories of 1804 and 1805, of 1810 and 1811. It reveals how persistent were the moods of depression, those familiar buffeting ghosts that Irving kept hidden in his day-to-day routine life. Behind the dinner engagements were the thoughts "empty home no blazing hearth—no door thrown open . . . no voice of affection. . . ."

The third of the companion notebooks is the fullest, and most suggestive of Irving's state of mind. It shows how he oscillated between scenes of America and scenes of Europe, between moments of melancholy and strenuous efforts to launch a career, between the past and the present.

The most interesting revelation is the very large amount of American materials Irving collected in England between 1817 and 1818, copied out of the travel accounts of such writers as Thomas Anburey, Isaac Weld, Peter Kalm, Jonathan Carver, and John Filson. The notebooks offer an ironic scene: Irving, the American, sitting at some desk in Liverpool or Birmingham or London, painstakingly copying from the accounts of Europeans traveling in America! Perhaps the copyist's task satisfied a need to touch the reality of America as the years in Europe lengthened; perhaps they provided a form of surrogate travel, to the Alleghenies, to the Susquehanna River, to the Shenandoah, to the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the Maryland countryside. The excerpts suggest that Irving's decision in 1832 to strike out for the West was not a sudden impulse, but a desire that had been long contemplated and nurtured.

The books that Irving used were well-known travel accounts. The excerpts—there are almost forty pages of them in one notebook alone—are often of considerable beauty and rich detail. They convey the tough reality of the frontier: the habits of bison, the nature of brush fires. At other times, the excerpts are no more than catalogs of botanical and ornithological names. Precise allusions can rarely be located in Irving's published writings; yet often the question of the influence of the sources does tease the mind, as for example, whether Thomas Anburey's derision of New England riders—which Irving copied fully—had anything to do with the creation of Ichabod Crane:

. . . you cannot possibly form a just idea of [New England horses and riders] unless you were . . . to meet a New Englander riding in the woods with his blazing iron (a term they give to a musket or gun) you might mistake him for the Knight of the Woeful Countenance[.] Their horses are of a very Slender make. . . . Then the master with his long leg[s] bestrides it which are in Stirrups that the toe can but just reach then his upright position with his long lank visage and on his head an old grzley [*sic*] caxon & a large flapped hat with his saddle bags behind & provision bags before & his blazing iron on his Shoulder — picture to yourself a man thus mounted, of such *outre* appearance & forbear to laugh if you can[.]

The "Haddon Hall" notebook shows how heavily in the last years of the period here under consideration Irving came to rely on secondary materials for the warp and the woof of his writing. Extracts and travel, his own or the travel of others, were the scaffolding on which he built. The last notebook becomes a compendium of antiquarian sources, consisting of long extracts from Dibdin's *Bibliomania*, from the *Letters of Horace Walpole*, from obscure works like *Censura Literaria* or *Archæologia*, and from Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*. The early drafts of narrative material for *Bracebridge Hall*, almost completely discarded later, permit a fuller understanding of Irving's method of work and a look into his workshop.

Irving appears to have believed that the aims of the landscape painter and the writer are the same: each must work for verisimilitude. For the writer this meant that fiction must be a first cousin to history. Thus, despite the legend and the whimsy, Irving kept his essays close to the texture of real scenery and historical account. Hawthorne, in 1850, wrote that the history of America was too thin a stuff to be the substance of real art; there were too few shadows, the surface was too flat. Irving, a generation earlier, found the "shadows," or what Hawthorne had called "the atmospherical medium," for his art in the history of England and Spain. As the years passed, he found himself on more and more occasions reworking tapestries woven before his time.

The journals and the notebooks in this volume provide a fairly detailed portrait of the young writer mastering his craft, attempting new forms and abandoning them, and at last settling into the traditional forms of the essay and the short tale. The reader is left, if he will, to muse upon what Irving might have accomplished had he trusted his imagination and his American materials more. At the very least, the manuscripts carry the suggestion that his eye was keener and his talent more real than he ever fully believed.

NOTE ON SOURCES

In order to save space, not all sources for identification of place names or individuals given in the footnotes are cited individually. Obviously many readily available encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, atlases, and guide books were used. Early editions of such reference books and especially the 1861 edition of Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* helped to establish the identity of members of the British nobility whom Irving mentions.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, 1806–1822

1806: March, Irving returns from Europe; friendship with "Lads of Kilkenny;" begins *Salmagundi* with Paulding; November 21, admitted to the bar; friendship with the Hoffmans.

1807: March, visits Philadelphia; May–July, visits to Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Williamsburg, Virginia, and to Washington.

1808: May, travels with brother Peter to Montreal via Skenesborough; returns from Albany to New York on Hudson steamboat, second trip to Montreal in December.

1809: January, returns to New York; continues work on *A History of New York*; April 26, death of Matilda Hoffman; two months' stay at home of Judge William P. Van Ness at Kinderhook on the Hudson; December 6, publication of *A History of New York*.

1810: June, trip to Philadelphia with Mrs. Hoffman, preparation of preface and biographical sketch for Thomas Campbell's work, published in Philadelphia.

1811: Joins brothers Ebenezer and Peter in their business and goes to Washington as their observer; received by President and Mrs. Madison.

1812: June, war breaks out.

1813: Irving becomes editor of *Analectic Magazine*, which failed in 1815.

1814: Irving becomes aide-de-camp to Governor Daniel D. Tompkins with the rank of colonel; treaty of peace with Great Britain signed December 24, 1814, and ratified by President Madison February 15, 1815.

1815: His brothers agree to send him to Europe to visit Italy and perhaps Greece; May 25, Irving sails for Liverpool to join the firm of P. and E. Irving; visits his sister, Mrs. Henry Van Wart, in Birmingham; also visits London repeatedly; July, excursion with James Renwick from Birmingham to Kenilworth, Warwick, and Stratford-on-Avon; July 31–August 14, tour through Wales with Renwick; joins Peter in Liverpool in September to help the failing firm; November,

visits the Van Warts in Birmingham where Peter is invalided; three weeks in London and Christmas at Van Warts'.

1816: January, in Liverpool; spends two months in London; returns to Liverpool; August, excursions into Wales and Derbyshire with Peter, making notes, used later in *The Sketch Book*; returns to Van Warts for the rest of the year in a vain attempt to resume writing.

1817: Spends almost two months at Van Warts' before returning to Liverpool to be with Peter; considers returning to America but news of his mother's death, April 9, keeps him in Europe; June, excursion into Wales with Peter and William C. Preston; August, three weeks in London, recording observations used in "London Antiques" and "Little Britain;" visits Thomas Campbell at Sydenham; August 16, dines at Murray's and meets the elder D'Israeli; continues to write essays for *The Sketch Book*; August 25, sails for Berwick-on-Tweed and continues by coach to Edinburgh; during travels in Scotland keeps two notebooks, "Tour in Scotland" and "Notes while Preparing Sketch Book &c.;" August 30–September 3, visits Scott at Abbotsford; returns to Edinburgh to meet Preston; September 4, excursion to the Scottish Highlands with Preston; September 19, returns to Edinburgh and to Liverpool to continue the struggle in his brothers' office.

1818: January 27, beginning of bankruptcy proceedings that end with the demise of P. and E. Irving & Co. on March 4; preoccupation with his notebooks, the study of German, and the reading of source materials like Riesbeck's *Travels through Germany*; continues writing *The Sketch Book* between August, 1818, and March, 1819.

1819: London and Birmingham; March 3, sends brother Ebenezer manuscript of first number of *The Sketch Book*; February, publication of first number of *The Sketch Book* by John Miller in London at Irving's expense.

1820: John Murray becomes Irving's publisher through efforts of Walter Scott; the success of *The Sketch Book* makes Irving a favorite of London literary society; August 17, leaves London for Paris via Southampton, stopping at Winchester; August 19, arrives at Le Havre; August 22, embarks for Rouen, visiting Honfleur, Quillebeuf, Caudebec, etc.; continues by coach and reaches Paris toward end of August, taking lodgings at 4 Rue Mont Thabor; November 8, leaves Paris for Rouen and Le Havre and returns to Paris end of November; December 21, meets Thomas Moore, who encourages him to write what becomes *Bracebridge Hall*.

1821: April 25, together with John Howard Payne visits Talma, the great French actor; July 11, leaves for England; in London witnesses coronation of George IV; stays at Newton's apartment writing portions of *Bracebridge Hall*; September 9, excursion with Leslie to Birmingham and then into Derbyshire; episode at Oxford that yields "The Stout

Gentleman;" visits to Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick, Kenilworth, and Haddon Hall; illness keeps Irving at Van Warts' for almost three months; December 26, returns to London.

1822: January 29, sends manuscript of first volume of *Bracebridge Hall* to brother Ebenezer; the two volumes appear in America and England, May 21 and 23 respectively; continues social activities that prove exhausting and debilitating; decides to try a cure on the Continent; July 6, departure from London, via Holland for the baths at Aix-la-Chapelle.

EDITORIAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[roman]	Editorial additions
[*italic*]	Editorial explanations
⟨ ⟩	Restorations of canceled matter
? ? or [?]	Doubtful or alternate readings. The former are used within square or angle brackets. The latter is used for a single doubtful word, and appears immediately after the word or character in question, with no intervening space.
unrecovered	Unrecovered word. When more than one word is involved, the fact is indicated (*"three words unrecovered,"* or *"two lines unrecovered"*).
illegible	Hopelessly unrecoverable word
↑ ↓	Interlinear insertions, above or below the line

Editorial situations not covered by these symbols are explained in the notes. For details of the editorial procedures followed, see the General Introduction to Volume I of the *Journals and Notebooks*.

Letters	Ralph Aderman, Herbert Kleinfield, and Jenifer Banks, eds. *Letters*, vol. I, 1802–1823; vol. II, 1823–1838.
PMI	Pierre M. Irving. *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*. 4 vols. New York, 1862–1864.
STW	Stanley T. Williams. *The Life of Washington Irving*. 2 vols. New York, 1935.
WI	Washington Irving.

Works *The Works of Washington Irving*. Hudson Edition. 27 vols. New York, 1865.

Other books cited often enough to warrant some form of shorter notation are given full bibliographical identification in the first note and short-titled thereafter.

JOURNALS AND NOTEBOOKS

Volume II

NOTEBOOK OF 1810

This manuscript notebook is part of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Collection of the Yale University Library. It was the gift of Mr. F. W. Allen in 1926. It measures 3½ × 5½ inches, is bound in brown calfskin, and is enclosed in a red solander case. The writing is in pencil except where otherwise indicated. The notebook was published with annotations by Barbara Damon Simison in the *Yale University Library Gazette*, 24 (1949), 1–16, 74–94. Some entries suggest that the notebook may have been begun earlier than 1810, and continued until some time in 1812.

[*inside front cover*]

Fun[?] to be in N Y evng & morning Forty one Days
Turks head[1]

[*extra page*][2]

Retd Apri[1] [1]806[3] engaged in [*two words unrecovered*]
admitted at the bar
1807 began Salma[4]
went to Virginia[5]
Peter retd.[6]
Jany 1808—went to canada May[7]

1. Almost illegible, these jottings can barely be surmised. A pasted label "Sold by Prior & Dunning,/ Stationers,/ No. 111, Water Street,/ New York." is in the middle of inside cover. The Turk's Head Club, or Literary Club in Gerard Street, Soho, made famous by Samuel Johnson, is mentioned by Irving in his Introduction to *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* ([Baltimore, 1810], I, xxv), and because Goldsmith was also a member, in *Oliver Goldsmith: A Biography*. See *Works*, IX, 176, 398.

2. This slip of paper is pasted sideways on p. [1].

3. There is a small hole in the paper.

4. *Salmagundi; or The Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq., & Others . . .* was published in twenty serial numbers, January 24, 1807–January 25, 1808. This first series was written by Washington Irving, William Irving, and James Kirk Paulding.

5. Irving traveled to Richmond in May, 1807, "to perform some menial legal functions, and also, in all probability, to report for a New York newspaper" (STW, I, 96).

6. Irving's brother Peter returned from Europe in January, 1808.

7. Irving and his brother Peter were sent by Ebenezer Irving on a business trip to Montreal (STW, I, 99).

retd. June [—] began Knicker[8]
1807 Winter in Canada
1809 retd. Jany [—] Peter gone
⟨Peter⟩ Mat died in April[9]

[*p. [1]*]
No 123 [*one or two words erased*] 4/
on the [*unrecovered*]
puissant[10]
Ensors Independent man[11]
look in Amer Rev 1770 or 1771-2 for Alfieris official[?][12]

[*p. [2]*]
V V
Tomp
Marian
Gansevoort
Bangor[13]
[*one leaf torn out between pp. [2] and [3]*]

[*p. [3]*]
Derick Van Der Heyden lives in the old Dutch house in Pearl St.[14]

[*p. [4] blank*]

8. Knickerbocker's *A History of New York* was begun in 1808, and published December 6, 1809.

9. His brother had sailed for Liverpool on business in January, 1809. Matilda, daughter of Josiah Ogden Hoffman, died of consumption, April 26, 1809. Irving's journals and notebooks contain many references to her. The entries "Retd . . . April" are on a smaller sheet pasted on the first page of the notebook.

10. Almost illegible incomplete entries.

11. George Ensor (1769–1843), a political writer of advanced ideas, published *The Independent Man: or, An Essay on the Formation and Development of Those Principles and Faculties of the Human Mind Which Constitute Moral and Intellectual Excellence* (London, 1806).

12. Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803) exalted the American revolutionary movement in his *L'America libra Odi* (1784). Irving copied from his work in 1825. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 361–62.

13. Possibly meant to represent the names of five of Irving's acquaintances, among them perhaps Henry Van Wart ("V V") and Daniel D. Tompkins ("Tomp"); no certain identifications can be made from this faintly written list.

14. The "Vander Heyden palace" is mentioned by Irving in *A History of New York* (*Works*, XI, 13). The house stood on the west side of North Pearl Street, Albany, New York; it was built by Johannes Beekman in 1725 and purchased by Jacob Van der Heyden in 1778. Antony Vander Heyden appears in "Dolph Heyliger," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 496–530). When the house was demolished in 1833, Irving took the weathervane to Sunnyside: ". . . a gilded horse, in full gallop, once the weathercock of the great Vander Heyden Palace of Albany, now glitters in the sunshine, and veers with every breeze, on the peaked turret

[*p. [5]*]

Xerxes fell in love with a plane tree & decorated it with a bracelet & Jewels
Herodotus[15]

[*p. [6] blank*]

[*p. [7]*]

Never was a finer contrast offered to the public eye – ⟨Platt He beheld Platt rising in the world⟩ I beheld Platt Serene in virtue, just entering the career of Public life – with a character pure, spotless and unchangable. A popularity founded on the surest basis the esteem and affection of the wise & virtuous – with a countenance that bespoke a mind ⟨firm⟩ enlightened & well regulated – a demeanour frank and prepossessing – ⟨an adress⟩ a deportment amiable & gentle yet firm & manly[16]

[*p. [8]*]

The other – a Bold imperious demagogue[17] – bloated up by arrogance and pride – flushed with distempered passions – and maddened by desperate fortunes – He appeared to feel the contrast and to shrink with self abasement from the steady gaze of Platt. He seemed to contrast the finer ⟨then⟩ tenor of his life – where pure and wholesome virtue had shed a great calm – with his own – infatuated ruin [?] – disfigured by broils[?] – calmty[?] [*p. [9]*] & sickening intrigues[18] – He contrastd Platts exalted stand in society ⟨founded⟩ raised by his own unobtrusive merits – supported by the esteem and affection of the wise & virtuous – with his own precarious situation – formd in the vein of the bravado & that too by means the most fanatical and degrading.

The one rising from one stage of excellence & esteem to another – daily advancing in the affections of his fellow citizens & the other plunging

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over my portal." See "Letter to the Editor of 'The Knickerbocker,' on Commencing His Monthly Contributions," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* (*Works,* XVII, 501).

15. See Herodotus, *The Persian Wars,* trans. George Rawlinson (New York, Modern Library, bk. 7, chap. 31, p. 511. Irving in his "To the Public," in *A History of New York* (*Works,* XI, 22–23) pays tribute to "my reverend prototype, Herodotus" and "my favorite Herodotus."

16. Probably Jonas Platt (1769–1834), lawyer and politician, who was the unsuccessful Federalist candidate for the governorship of New York in 1810.

17. Possibly Irving refers to Platt's successful opponent for the governorship of New York in 1810, Daniel D. Tompkins. Irving served as Tompkins' aide-de-camp in 1814 (see PMI, I, 312).

18. Irving remained in Albany in 1810 "to witness the interesting scenes of intrigue and iniquity" (letter of February 26 to Mrs. J. O. Hoffman). See *Letters,* I, 284.

from depth to depth and [*p. [10]*] grasping at every twig & straw ⟨that is⟩ in the vain hope of saving himself from inevitable ⟨degradation⟩ – perdition.

I saw in his flushed countenance and glaring eye; all the baleful passions raging like a volcano in his bosom – I beheld a man, formed to have shone in a nobler cause – damned – forever damned, by [*blank*] [*p. [11]*] – a man whom slander had never dared to point the finger – and ⟨from whose unspattered character, was the [*blank*] whose unsullied character was angry⟩

Platt like the sun, rising in mild and steady majesty ⟨glo⟩ dispelling the gloom of political delusion – while every guilty thing which had prowled the night stalks to its den cursing the light which beams upon its prowlings

[*p. [12]*]

The one elevated by the approbation of the wise & virtuous – honoured by the unanimous suffrage of his party and rightly honourd high up in their government giving & receiving honours

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The one courting no mans smiles – seeking no mans vote – but brought forward by mans merit & sought after rather than seeking

[*p. [13]*]

In ancient time a herd of them came to the big bone licks & began a ⟨great⟩ universal distruction of the animals – & the great man above seeing this was so enraged that he seized his lightening & taking his seat on a neighbor[in]g mountain hurled his bolts among them & slaughtered all except the Big bull, who presenting his forehead to the shafts shook them off as they foght but missing one it wounded him in the side – whereupon springing round he bounded over the Ohio; the Wabash the illinois & finally the great lakes, where he is living at this day[19] –

[*p. [14] blank*]

[*p. [15]*]

Among the [*half line rubbed out*] of the

19. Irving refers here to a herd of mammoths that in ancient times, according to Indian tradition, came to the salt licks on the Ohio, where their bones have been found. In the Notes to part 3 of Thomas Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming" (see *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* [Boston, 1866], p. 417) Irving found an account of this Indian legend which derived from Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (see *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. H. A. Washington [Washington, D.C., 1853–1854], VIII, 286). Irving was working on his biographical introduction to Campbell's *Poetical Works* in 1810.

One of the causes of want of nationality is that our govt is a constitution – others Monarchy. Difficult for the affections to attach to our abstract principle – another, the idea that the union is not permanent[20] –

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a Vandyke Hendrick [*unrecovered*]
[*four lines only partially recovered*][21]

[*p. [16]*]
Thus far in simple lowliness of heart have I[22]
Hume Comet[23]
pastoral city vizer

[*p. [17]*]
Large coarse looking healthy woman with a slatternly attempt at fashion attended by an obsequious little man. another Woman, small & cattish in her look, an appearance of self-satisfaction; ⟨as know⟩ and as if she knew much more than other people.

Officious little man gets coarse woman glass gin sling – she with great cordiality offers it to other, who is very squeamish and after much pressing tastes it – but returns it[.] she cannot taste any more – she is not used to any thing of that sort. The Coarse woman observes these things are good *coming on the water.* Tells obsequious little man, if she becomes *tipsey* he must take care of her – very facetious[24]

[*p. [18] blank*]

[*p. [19]*]
I cannot but notice as a particular in which we are in some measure interestd This is almost the only instance in which a British poet has thought proper to lay the scene of a poem in this country[25] – He has convinced many that our native scenes are capable of poetic inspiration and that our country may be as capable of poetic fiction as the worn

20. "One . . . permanent–" is written in ink.

21. The lines seem to contain random notes:
A[?] Vandyke Hendrick [illegible]
Chas [illegible] Carnage [?]
Greek — Tzorck [illegible]
— overnight [illegible]

22. Perhaps a fine phrase, incomplete here, expanded for later use in his work. Written in ink.

23. Irving refers to David Hume (1711–1776), the Scottish philosopher and historian, and deals with comets at some length in *A History of New York* (*Works*, XI, 43–46).

24. A typical bit of narrative, probably sketched from life, for possible future use in his work. "Large . . . facetious" is written in ink.

25. Thomas Campbell (1777–1844) published "Gertrude of Wyoming" with its American setting in 1809. Irving began to make notes for his biographical sketch

out scenes of classic italy – the gay vallies of france, – the ⟨other w⟩ gothic scenes of England. A writer of this kind certainly benefits the country he honours with his notice – every work written concerning a country tends to increase local & national feeling – We cannot but notice it as a proof of his liberality

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[*p. [20]*]
look down from mountain brow a ⟨vessel⟩ bark slowly gliding.
eagles sailing on the mountain side[26] – Soar[?] faster[?].
Thout of past time
bottom of enclosing hills
distant place could catch a fairy glance at future years
& thou old Stranger shall ride a distant time. While the poor bard that notes this might care[?] else ⟨life⟩ lie forgotten

[*one leaf torn out between pp. [20] and [21]*]

[*p. [21]*]
Nearly 2 years ago recd. annuity of 200 £ a spontaneous act of bounty – unconditional[27] – Lady Caroline Campbell[28] [–] Pleasures of Hope[29] – No other poet –

Shortly after his return from Germany[30] three children[31]
Sydenham in Kent – near London place of his own[32] –

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of Campbell to preface his edition of *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* to be published in 1810. Irving met Campbell in England in 1815 and formed a lasting friendship with him. This particular passage was expanded by Irving. See the biographical sketch "Thomas Campbell," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* (*Works*, XVII, 157–62).

26. Cf. the passage in "Dolph Heyliger" in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 516–17).

27. "He [Campbell] has been enabled to indulge his love of study and retirement more comfortably by the bounty of his sovereign, who some few years since presented him with an annuity of 200£" (see "Thomas Campbell," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* [*Works*, XVII, 152]).

28. Probably a reference to Lady Charlotte Campbell Bury (1775–1861), a novelist and poetess, whom Thomas Campbell knew as early as 1805, who became a lady-in-waiting in the household of the princess of Wales, later Queen Caroline, in 1809, and presented Campbell to the princess in 1812. See *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, ed. William Beattie (New York, 1855), I, 415, 545.

29. Thomas Campbell's popular success, *The Pleasures of Hope*, published in 1799.

30. Thomas Campbell left for Germany in June, 1800, and returned to England in March, 1801.

31. Thomas Campbell was married in 1803 and became the father of two sons, Thomas Telford and Alison.

32. "He removed to Sydenham in Kent, near London, where he has ever since resided . . ." ("Thomas Campbell" in *Biographies and Miscellanies* [*Works*, XVII, 152]).

Sold pleasures of Hope for small sum – Booksellers after publishing 2 editions gave him privilege of edition by Himself.[33]

First patron Lord Minto ambassador for some years to Constantinople – Man of Literary turn[34] –

Professor Stewart & Playfair Macintosh.[35]

Mrs Siddons[36] ⟨*unrecovered*⟩ first sung of her ⟨Christmas⟩

Miss Sinclair[37]

[*p. [22]*]

Elder Campbell devoted to literature encouraged it in his son Falmouth Virginia[38] – Brother left a family in the neighbourhood[.] one of his sons ↑district↓ Attorney general of Virginia – family well known there – Died ⟨Sev⟩ 85 or 86 – still spoken of with respect & admiration[39]

Make him a clergyman[40]

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33. "... he unfortunately disposed of the copyright for an inconsiderable sum. This, however, was in some measure remedied by the liberality of his publisher, who, finding that the book ran through two editions in the course of a few months, permitted him to publish a splendid edition for himself ..." (*ibid.*, p. 148).

34. Sir Gilbert Elliot, first earl of Minto (1751–1814), distinguished as a diplomat, became governor-general of India in 1806. He was a patron of literature, and Campbell frequently was his guest in London and at Minto Castle.

35. Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), Scottish philosopher and professor of mathematics at Edinburgh while Campbell was a student, became his friend and patron. Irving's hope of meeting Stewart in 1817 was not realized. See "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 100. John Playfair (1748–1819), Scottish geologist and mathematician who succeeded Stewart as professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, and Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), philosopher and historian, became friends of Campbell.

36. Sarah Kemble Siddons (1755–1831), the famous English actress, whom Irving first saw on his visit to London in 1805. Thomas Campbell published a two-volume biography, *Life of Mrs. Siddons* (London, 1834).

37. Matilda Sinclair, the daughter of Robert Sinclair, who was a maternal cousin of Campbell's, became Thomas Campbell's wife in 1803.

38. Alexander Campbell (1710–1801), Glasgow merchant, had lived in his youth in Falmouth, Virginia. He "cherished a liberal and enthusiastic love of literature" and regarded "the promising talents of his son with pride and sanguine anticipation" (see "Thomas Campbell," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* [*Works*, XVII, 143, 147]).

39. Campbell's uncle settled permanently in Virginia and had a son who "was District Attorney under the Administration of George Washington, and died in 1795. He was a man of uncommon talents and particularly distinguished for his eloquence" (*ibid.*, p. 144).

40. "A part of his family expressed a wish that he should be fitted for the church ..." (*ibid.*, p. 147).

Robert married a daughter of Patrick Henry – died 2 years ago[41]
Mr Campbells father left Virginia 50 or 60 years since[42]

[*pp. [23–24] blank*]

[*p. [25]*]
It has long been a maxim bitterly lamented by all those concerned that an author seldom receives justice from mankind – until he has Ceased to be conscious of its censure or its praise – In truth while living ⟨there is so much⟩ his good name ⟨is so subject to the capricious influences of fashion – so ap⟩ has to contend ⟨with⟩ against the captious sneers of the envious – the bickering of party & the [*blank*] of personal prejudice, that it is ten to one if he is not defrauded of half his dues

⟨There is a singular perverseness in human nature which induces us to set⟩ Death, while it removes an author from our view ⟨at once enlarges those⟩ at once increases his value in our estimation. So singularly wayward are we & so prone to set an inferior value upon an object in our possession than on one that is removed beyond our reach forever

[*p. [26]*]
Of departed authors likewise we judge merely by their works.

Here then we see nothing but the most fair & luminous parts of their character – we conceive of the whole ⟨ten⟩ flow of their mind & tenor of their character from those ⟨delightful emanations of rare productions – the choice⟩ ↑productions they have left to us↓ which are the rare emanations of their genius in its choicest moments when elevated by serene reflections – fortified by study – collected & concentrated by solitude – & sustained by inspiration – But living authors are constantly before the public eye and ⟨subject to all the demands the⟩ exposed to the full glare & exposure of scrutinizing familiarity – which beheld them in their moments of relaxation of listlessness [–] [*p. [27]*] of vacuity – of priviledge & depression – we behold them subject to the weakness & follies of other men – and from the natural susceptibility of their minds prone to more than ordinary caprices & fluctuations of mind & spirits – at times solitary & unsocial – often trifling with the frivolous & not unfrequently the dullest among the dul[l]. All this operates to diminish the impressions their works would otherwise make and to detract from that respect & admiration we would otherwise have for them were we to contemplate them ⟨sincerely⟩ as we do authors who are *known today* merely through the magnifying medium of their writings[43]

41. "Robert Campbell also, a brother of the poet, settled in Virginia, where he married a daughter of the celebrated Patrick Henry. He died about the year 1808" (*ibid.*, p. 144).

42. "His father . . . returned to Europe about fifty years since" (*ibid.*, p. 144).

43. The section, "It has long been . . . writings," is a rough draft of Irving's

[*p. [28]*]

⟨In respect to their [*unrecovered*] however we are [*two unrecovered words*]⟩

While these causes operate in Europe to retard the lustre of their living authors, they cease to operate with us. In respect to living authors we are placed in some ⟨*unrecovered*⟩ ↑degree↓ in the situation of posterity –

[*p. [29]*]

In the 16 Century Literature dawned in England with considerable brilliancy under the reign of Edward III, but was owing to the genius of a single man. Geoffrey Chaucer,[44] cotemporary of Boccacio ⟨wro⟩ having made himself acquainted with the writings of that illustrious italian[,] wrote, in his manner, a variety of lively & ingenious tales. His style however, is so extremely ancient & loaded with obsolete words, that ⟨it is al⟩ his merits would be almost lost even to the english reader if Pope & Dryden had not taken pains to reduce them into modern English. ⟨Chau⟩

Chaucer was learned for the century in which he lived; he was ignorant of ⟨know⟩ nothing that it was possible at that time to know; fortune occasionally smiled upon him, but he experienced the dangerous honour of a brilliant alliance; the fall of [*p. [30]*] his protector drew him along with it, and the merit or the misfortune of having collected the opinions of Wickliff made him deserve the crown of martyrdom.[45]

[*pp. [31–32] blank*]

[*p. [33]*]

Alison Pulpit clergyman – Edinburgh – Lutheran[46]

On landing at Hamburgh he heard of a victory gained by the french ⟨at⟩ ↑near↓ Ulm & that Munich & the heart of Bavaria were now the theatre of an interesting war. One moments sensation [–] the single

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introductory paragraphs of "Thomas Campbell" (*ibid.*, p. 141–43). The transitory nature of literary fame was a favorite theme of Irving's. See "The Mutability of Literature," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 179–94).

44. Irving frequently mentioned Chaucer in his writings and used selections as epigraphs for some essays, but this is the only detailed appreciation of Chaucer's genius.

45. John Wycliffe (ca. 1330–1384), English reformer, condemned and persecuted as a heretic, was really a forerunner of the Reformation. "In . . . martyrdom" is written in ink.

46. Archibald Alison (1757–1839), a Scottish clergyman, well known in his day for his essay on *Taste* (1790), whom Campbell called his "intellectual father," became a friend and patron of the poet. See *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, I, 207. Campbell named his second son for him.

hope of seeing human nature exhibited in its most dreadful attitude overturned my first decisions[.] I got down to the seat of war some weeks before the summer Armistice of 1800 & indulged what you will call the criminal curiosity of witnessing blood & desolation. Never shall time efface from my memory the reccollection of this hour of astonishment & suspended breath, when I stood with the good Monks of St Jacob [*p. [34]*] to overlook a charge of Klenaw's cavalry upon the French under Grenier encamped below us. We saw the fire given & returned & heard distinctly the sound of the french pas de charge collecting their lines to attack in close column. After 3 hours awaiting the issue of a severe action – a park of artillery was opened just beneath the walls of the monastery & several waggoners that were stationed to convey the wounded in spring waggons were killed in our sight. My love of novelty now gave way to personal fears. I took a carriage in company with an Austrian surgeon ⟨&⟩ back to Landshut & thence to Ratisbon &c with french company The [*p. [35]*] latter place he was politely treated by Moreaus Army[47]

My time at Hamburgh was chiefly employed in reading German & I am almost ashamed to confess it for 12 successive weeks in the study of Kants Philosophy. I had heard so much of it in Germany[,] its language was so new to me & the possibility of its application to so many purposes in the difft theories of science & Belles Lettres was so constantly maintained by its followers that I began to suspect Kant might be another Bacon & blamed myself for not percieving his merit. Distrusting my own imperfect acquaintance with German I took a disciple of Kants for a guide through his Philosophy, but found even with [*p. [36]*] all his *fair play* nothing to reward my labour. His Metaphysics are mere innovations on the received meaning of words & the coinage of new ones which convey no more instruction than the distinctions of Dun Scotus on Thomas Aquinas – In Belles Lettres the German language opens a richer field than in their philosophy. I cannot conceive a more perfect Poet than their favourite Wieland.[48]

47. The entire passage beginning with "On landing . . ." is somewhat expanded in Irving's "Thomas Campbell," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* (*Works,* XVII, 149–50). The lines "One moments sensation . . . in our sight" are quoted from Campbell's letter to his brother in Virginia (*ibid.,* p. 149). Campbell observed the attack, led by General Johann von Klenau, Baron von Janowitz (1758–1819), upon the French under the command of General Paul Grenier (1768–1827) from the monastery of St. James near Ratisbon. Jean Victor Marie Moreau (1763–1813), the French general who defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden, December 3, 1800, was later involved in a conspiracy against Napoleon, arrested, tried, and exiled for life. Irving had visited Moreau's Chateau de Gros-Bois, outside of Paris, on May 24, 1805. See *Journals and Notebooks,* I, 418.

48. When Irving revised his biographical sketch into his essay "Thomas Campbell,"

[*p. [37]*]
– Col Napier – decendant of Napier[49] the inventor of Logarithms – Baron Merchiston – idolized by Scotch –
Staid some time with him after leaving the university – probabl[y] gaind his taste & knowledge of Military &c

perusal of Greek authors gave great Pleasure
professor of Greek patron[50]

[*p. [38]*]
Consistency – Probability & Possibility necessary to the sublime[51]

The mind is rather dazzled than delighted by these incessant flashes of wit – and we grow tired of a conversation into which so much of the lemon is squeezed as to set the teeth on edge[52]

[*p. [39] blank*]

[*p. [40]*]

Though my perishing ranks should be strewed in their gore,
Like ocean weeds heaped on the surf-beaten shore,
Lochiel, untainted by flight or by chains,
While the kindling of life in his bosom remains,
Shall victor exult, or in death be laid low,

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he eliminated these uncritical comments on German philosophy and restricted himself to a brief noncommittal reference to Campbell's German contacts. The entire passage, taken from a letter, is printed with insignificant variations in *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell,* I, 283. Irving showed great interest in Wieland, wrote in his "Notebook of 1818" the cryptic phrase "light tales in the manner of Wieland," and acquired a number of volumes of Wieland's works. See Walter A. Reichart, *Washington Irving and Germany* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957), pp. 20–22, 202.

49. Colonel Robert John Milliken Napier (1765–1808) engaged Campbell as a tutor for his eight year old son, later Sir William John Milliken Napier (1788–1852), the eighth Lord Napier of Merchiston. Both were lineal descendants of John Napier (1550–1617) of Merchiston, the Scottish mathematician and inventor of logarithms. See also "Thomas Campbell," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* (*Works,* XVII, 147–48).

50. John Young (1750?–1820) was Campbell's professor of Greek at Glasgow and his enthusiastic patron. In his biographical sketch Irving wrote: "He was particularly successful in his translations from the Greek, in which language he took great delight; and on receiving his last prize for one of these performances, the Greek professor publicly pronounced it the best that had ever been produced in the University" (*ibid.*, p. 146).

51. Many of Irving's ideas about the sublime were derived from the essay "On the Sublime" by Longinus (ca. 213–273), rhetorician and philosophical critic. Irving was making extracts from Herodotus and Longinus in 1810 (see STW, I, 120).

52. "The mind becomes fatigued with constant flashes of wit, which dazzle rather than delight; and we grow weary of a conversation where there is nothing solid to gratify the understanding, and where the incessant poignancy almost sets the

With his back to the field, & his feet to the foe!
And leaving in battle no blot on his name,
Look proudly to heaven from the death bed of fame.[53]

[*p. [41] shows page-size pencil drawing of a landscape captioned* "From the top of the old magazine opposite West point – looking up the river"][54]

[*p. [42]*]
August 28, 1810[55]

Fine clear day – view from the top of the old magazine ⟨of⟩ on Constitution Island opposite WPoint. Highlands like bold side Scenes – one bluff beyond another – open country in the distance. Shawangu[nk] mountains terminate the view up the river. New Windsor & New burgh in distance – ⟨beautiful⟩ pure transparent atmosphere – river far below me – sound of cowbells from a little fresh pasture in a nook of the shore opposite shaded with large trees – dislodge several sheep that had taken lodgings in magazine –

[*one leaf torn out between pp. [42] and [43]*]

[*p. [43] blank*]

[*p. [44]*]

½ past ten Aug 28 at night [–] deep gloom of opposite mountains – light from candle at WPoint [–] noise of insects – tinkling of cowbells – dull sounds from opposite shore – faint view of sloops dimly seen with sails spread under opposite shore – perfect calm [–] water indistinctly seen here & there [–] fire flies –

[*p. [45]*]
August 29
Sketch[56]

Morning – ↑5 oclock↓ sky perfectly clear – Sun not up yet – a Soft mellow yellowish light over the landscape – perfectly calm – river like

teeth on edge." This passage, appearing in the original introduction to *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (Baltimore, 1810), I, xxvii, does not appear in the revised biographical sketch.

53. These eight lines, with slight variations in spelling and punctuation, are quoted from Campbell's poem, "Lochiël's Warning" (1802). The lines are written sidewise on the page.

54. Irving's drawing is sidewise on the page.

55. Irving wrote "August 28." From internal evidence the editors have determined the year as 1810 and added it. There follows a detailed account of his tour of the Hudson highlands. Such passages are typical of Irving's descriptive ability as revealed in *The Sketch Book*.

56. Irving usually centered the word "Sketch" on the page, as on pp. 16 and 17 below, as a kind of title to indicate some future use to be made of the notations

a glass. In some places almost black from the dark shadows of the mountains – in others the colour of the heavens – long sheets of mist suspended in mid air half way up the mountains – in some places they seem to clamber up the hollows of the mountains – One large mass entirely shrowds the upper part of the mountain above buttermilk falls,[57] and seems to droop into the water like a veil. Sound of the cattle bells from opposite shore – cocks crowing – roll of a drum from West point – Grass [*p. [46]*] white with dew drops. Sign of Warm ↑& dry↓ Weather when heavy dews fall – old fort of W Point begins to brighten – Country now has lost the yellowish ⟨glow⟩ light. ⟨and is clear⟩ the atmosphere is clear & greyish, except about horison where there is a slight golden tinge – bright green of the country – freshness of the verdure – Mist begins to steal over the fields about the house; but very faintly.

Flight of crows – just rising from the side of ⟨the⟩ a mountain & filling the air with their clamours – ⟨Fog steals over [*p. [47]*] clos⟩ Fog closes in from each side of the prospect – one large mass that had hung condensed about Bull hill & another from Buttermilk falls. they unite & shrowd the prospect – Sky above serene and cloudless.

⟨When the a fog⟩

Sun rises – lights up the fog of a golden colour. The mists break away – Sun gilds the faces of the mountains in different places. Sail of a sloop gleaming with a sun beam among dark scenery – mists slowly creep up the mountains to the tops & then expand into the air & ⟨roll⟩ ↑melt↓ away –

Sun beams chequering the prospect – birds begin to sing.

[*p. [48]*]

When a fog breaks away partial glances of a beautiful prospect seen – like glimpses of a lovely countenance ⟨caught under⟩ which is partly concealed by a veil.

Fog is dame natures veil wherewith she sometimes plays the prude or coquet, and ⟨hig⟩ hides her countenance from the ardent gaze of ⟨that⟩ Dan Apollo.

Nature appears by degrees from a fog. Mountain after mountain – hill after hill emerging – as if emerging out of chaos ⟨& old night.⟩

New Windsor ⟨glistening⟩ – the white houses gleaming like bright dots in the distance

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that follow. Here the word appears inserted at the top of the page on the left, apparently added later as a reminder.

57. Buttermilk Falls in Central Nyack, Rockland County.

[*p. [49]*]

Sketch

Grey walls of Old Fort of W Point receiving a faint tinge – like a transient flush on the hoary cheek of age – on the *hoary* cheek of some war weary ↑veteran↓ Gold winged woodpeckers pursuing their irregular plunging flight in search of morning food & seizing some unlucky grasshopper that filled with dew is ↑merrily↓ chanting forth his matin song from the top of some rich clover blossom.

Septuagint Liturgy Litany
apocalypse[58]

[*p. [50]*]

Sketch

10 'Oclock A M. Clear serene day – scarcely a breath of wind. Perfect stillness of the landscape excepting the steady chirp of a cricket and the notes of the grasshoppers. All the clamourous insects of the night, like true rakehells have retired to rest. Sloops with ⟨droop⟩ flagging sails floating on the glassy bosom of the river at the mercy of the tide, slowly disappearing behind promontories – Sloops at a distance on the glassy surface seem as if suspended in the air – The clear reflection of the sky on the water makes it appear as if you saw under the hills and beheld the Sky beyond them. In others as if you were looking to the [*p. [51]*] foundations of those everlasting rocks[59] –
[*sketch*]

[*p. [52]*]

Flaming ⟨&⟩ images & glowing style – the productions of a sultry imagination. The tropical regions of his fancy produce nothing but monsters.

[*p. [53]*]

Sketch

Fall of a mountain brook – near Capt Philips'.[60] Water gushes down rocks, ⟨throwing with⟩ in complete foam – as the water dashes against the rocks it throws up drops that sparkle like diamonds in the sun beam –

58. "Septuagint . . . apocalypse" is written upside down at the bottom of the page. The Septuagint is the Greek version of the Old Testament including the Apocrypha, said to have been made by seventy translators about 270 B.C. For Irving's religious interests, see STW, II, 232–33 and 398–99, n. 9.

59. The last five words appear at the top of p. [51]. Below them the page is blank except for a drawing of the stem of a plant with leaves.

60. Various spellings of the name appear, but "Philipse" is the correct form of the family name, still associated with Philipse Manor, one of the Sleepy Hollow Restorations. Captain Frederick P. Philipse (1755–1829), whose property, 150 feet above the Hudson and directly opposite West Point, is near the present village of

seat at the root of a tree high above the fall & overhanging the chasm down which it pours [–] a little terrace upheld by the roots & fibres of trees and shrubs. Moisture diffused around by the fall – green grass springing up on the ledge of the rocks and hung with pellucid drops [*p. [54]*] from the spray of the fall – vines fibres & flaunting weeds hanging down from the surface of the perpendicular rocks around – & dripping with humidity – rocks covered with beautiful mosses – Trees shooting their horizontal sprays across the chasm & trembling in the lightest breeze. Water falls into a natural basin made among the rocks – beside the main fall several little rills stray over the rocks and trickle down in pure transparent streams

Small trees that ⟨seem⟩ shoot out of the crevices of the perpendicular rocks and seem almost suspended in the air –

[*p. [55]*]
September 1[61]
– Leave Bristol early in the evening for Peekskill[62]

September 2

leave peekskill & am put on board of a Sloop belonging to Buttermilk falls. Wind comes round to South –

Conversation between a country girl who was reading a novel & two of the boatmen – their chat about a ball at the falls – ⟨there was very fine⟩

The company said the girl was very prim – I had no fault to find with them – you could not expect them all to be polished – Oh no said the boatman[63] – Anchor near Haverstraw – go onshore to Wiats tavern – Kakiat[64] in the neighborhood [*one line unrecovered*]

Cold Spring in Putnam County, was graduated from King's College in 1773 and served in the American Revolution. Irving in a letter of March 16, 1811, to Henry Brevoort, called him "our redoubtable Highland chieftain." See *Letters*, I, 312. The Philipse mansion was a favorite resort for Irving, the Kembles, and Brevoort. Though nothing indicates how long Irving had been in this neighborhood, a letter, dated New York, September 22, 1810, to Brevoort states: "I passed eight or ten days delightfully at the Captain's Castle in the Highlands" (*ibid.*, p. 288f.). This "mountain brook, among the highlands of the Hudson" is the scene of Irving's and his companion's fishing, described in "The Angler," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 462–64).

61. Irving just wrote "Sept 2," then corrected his misdating by writing 1 over the 2.

62. Early nineteenth-century atlases show a Bristol on the Hudson River in the northeast corner of Ulster County, just north of Saugerties.

63. Compare similar entry below, p. 34 and see n. 123.

64. Kakiat, actually pronounced Kakiak, is a corruption of the Indian name Hackyackaweck. The name was used for a large part of the area and the hamlet which now is the village of New Hempstead, New York. Kakiat is mentioned in "Wolfert's Roost," *Wolfert's Roost and Other Papers* (*Works*, XXVII, 28).

[*p. [56] blank*]

[*p. [57]*]
Dear Madam[65]

I parted with you at Peekskill your debtor not only for a world of kindness and amiable attentions but for the enclosed sum which I borrowed to pay to my boatman & ⟨The latter⟩ which I forgot to return you. The latter I can readily repay [–] for the former I must still ⟨return⟩ remain your debtor unless you will consider my grateful sensibility & hearty acknowledgements as a sufficient discharge

[*p. [58]*]

If to fair Indias coast we sail
  Thy eyes are seen in diamonds bright
Thy breath is Africs spicy gale
  Thy skin is ivory white
Thus every beauteous object that I view
Wakes in my soul some charm of lovely Sue[66]

My Posie on her bosom placd
  Could many sweeter scents exhale
Her auburn locks my ribband gracd
  & fluttered in the wanton gale[67]

[*p. [59]*]
How stands the glass around
  For shame you take no care my boys
  How stands the glass around
  Let mirth & wine abound.
  The trumpets sound
The colours they are flying boys.
  To fight kill or wound
  May we still be found
Content with our hard fate my boys.
  On the cold ground

  Why soldiers why
Should we be melancholy boys,

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65. The recipient of Irving's note of gratitude, written shortly after leaving Peekskill, has not been identified.

66. The sixth stanza of "Sweet William's Farewell to Black-ey'd Susan" by John Gay (1685–1732). See *The Poetical Works of John Gay,* ed. G. C. Faber (London, 1926), p. 182. Aside from variations in spelling and punctuation Irving skipped the word "so" before "white" in line four.

67. Unidentified verse.

Why soldiers why
Whose business tis to die
What, sighing, fie!
Down fear, drink on, be jolly boys,
Tis he, you or I,
Cold, hot, wet or dry
We're always bound to follow boys,
And scorn to fly.

Tis but in vain
I mean not to upbraid you boys;
Tis but in vain
For soldiers to complain
Should next campaign
Send us to him who made us boys
We[']re free from pain.

[*p. [60]*]
But if we remain
A bottle & kind Landlady
Cures all again[68] –

[*p. [61]*]

A man of lively imagination, who deals in figures, must have a mind stored with monsters on every subject – like an egyptian literate who wrote in hyeroglyphics and used the figures of all kinds of animals as signs of things.

decalogue[69]

[*p. [62]*]

There is something in the hour of sunset that peculiarly touches the tender chords of the heart & awakens pleasing though melancholy ideas. I don't know why it is, but it seems to me the memory is most busy at that time in summoning up past scenes of happiness & objects of affec-

68. These stanzas of an old song, known as "Duke of Berwick's March," "Why Soldiers, Why," or "How Stands the Glass Around," were published as a broadside in 1710 with author and composer unknown. The song has been erroneously attributed to General Wolfe, and Irving repeats this error in the following comment: "He [Scott] adverted in a mellow and delightful manner to the little half gay, half melancholy campaigning song, said to have been composed by General Wolfe, and sung by him at the mess-table, on the eve of the storming of Quebec, in which he fell so gloriously," and cites with some variations parts of it. See "Abbotsford," in *Crayon Miscellany* (*Works*, VIII, 281–82). Irving repeats the mistake in his *Life of George Washington* (*Works*, XXII, 350), and quotes four lines also in "An Old Soldier," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 58).

69. This word, written in pencil in a much larger hand in the middle of the page, is probably a later entry. "A man . . . things" is written in ink.

tion – scenes that have passed away forever and objects of affection whose memories have been hallowed by the grave –

[*p. [63]*]
⟨I never thi⟩
man or those friends that once started with me in the career of life but now are gone forever. Of many a beauty that once enchanted me – whose bright eye is closed and whose roses have perished at the tomb – of many a true hearted friend who now is nothing but dust and worms. One after another pass before my eyes – linger for a moment & gradually decend into the tomb – that tomb – to which shortly I must follow them –

While sadly I ruminate on hopes disappointed – on many a gay anticipation of youth miserably disappointd – on lives that have ended in sorrow – and of friendships that have faded & decayd away[70]

[*p. [64]*]
Yankees presented the Dutch with public schools & turnpike gates.[71]

Their eating a sign that the city would be famous for that

[*p. [65]*]
Diedrich[72] – ⟨takes to re⟩ great block[hea]d. at school – only signs of mind were a great turn for reading – ⟨fond of⟩ perhaps ⟨the his later turn⟩ his historic turn may have arisen from his early reading for the first book he read was the history of Giles Gingerbread – Then the adventures of Tom Thumb & he earnestly longed for a sword by his side to engage bumble bees – Travels &c &c. always reading – ⟨negl⟩ his mind a farrago – Travels histories &c &c[,] at one time he had nearly run away & went to sea from reading voyages. His tasks at school neglected & Diedrich grew up, skilld in a great variety of unprofitable knowledge, but without a single means of making a farthing.

[*p. [66]*] Diedrich seized with an unconquerable ambition of being

70. Such melancholy reflections, possibly aroused by Irving's grief over Matilda Hoffman's death, found their way into his writings. See "St. Mark's Eve" in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works,* IV, 157–58).

71. Irving, in his "Account of the Author," in *A History of New York,* wrote: "Indeed, he was informed that these intruders were making sad innovations in all parts of the State; where they had given great trouble and vexation to the regular Dutch settlers by the introduction of turnpike-gates, and country schoolhouses" (*Works,* XI, 13). This passage does not appear in the edition of 1809.

72. Diedrich Knickerbocker, under whose name Irving published *A History of New York* in 1809. For Irving's various accounts in his writings of Diedrich Knickerbocker's character, see *A History of New York* (*Works,* XI, 7–19); "Wolfert's Roost" in *Wolfert's Roost and Other Papers* (*Works,* XXVII, 30–35); "Letter to the Editor of 'The Knickerbocker,' on Commencing His Monthly Contributions" in *Biographies and Miscellanies* (*Works,* XVII, 496–502).

renowned – cut his name on every fence & even in the village steeple – at length happened upon the Stuyvesant Mss. which he slyly pocketed. ⟨(⟩ Persecution Diedrich sufferd for writing his book. Old Dutchmen would not invite him to Dinner

[*p. [67]*]

What a whimsical effect it will have when some of those *New* Cities come to be very old & retain their original appearance – like the horse of an old dutchman of my acquaintance called *the Colt* – until he died of old age.

Hen & chickens[73] –
place where the corporation fatten their Turtle – Belleview[74]

[*pp. [68-69] blank*]

[*p. [70]*]

Let full gorgd eels and men of vile degree
Crowd to these shores & wallow in the Sea.

Let misanthropic crabs infest ⟨this coast⟩ ↑these sands↓
And grow more crabbed

Een[?] the poor crabs that linger on these shores
More crabbed grow[75]

[*p. [71]*]

⟨where crabs grow poor⟩

[*p. [72] blank*]

[*p. [73]*]

God made the country & man made the town[76] – but the Devil ⟨made the⟩ made Rockaway[77] –

[*pp. [74–80] blank*]

73. Rocks near Hell Gate in Long Island Sound to which Irving referred in *A History of New York*: "Now they were nearly dashed upon the Hen and Chickens; (infamous rocks! — more voracious than Scylla and her whelps;)" (*Works*, XI, 125). This passage does not appear in the edition of 1809. See also "Hell-Gate," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works*, XXI, 437).

74. See *Works*, XI, 121: "... they accordingly landed hard by the rocky heights of Bellevue, — that happy retreat, where our jolly aldermen eat for the good of the city, and fatten the turtle that are sacrificed on civic solemnities." This passage does not appear in the edition of 1809. "<I ... Belleview" is written in ink.

75. The passage "Let ... grow" is written sidewise on the page.

76. Quotation from William Cowper's *The Task*, bk. I, l. 749, published in 1785.

77. Rockaway Beach on the southern shore of Long Island, a favorite meeting place for Irving and his friends. See his letter, dated [New York, August [?] 1814?], in *Letters*, I, 365–67.

[*p. [81]*]
⟨Here opened upon them And now the stream which had been compressed by⟩ And now ⟨opened upon them the⟩ turning the point of a verdant Island they beheld where the stream before them turnd its course & ran dimpling among verdant ⟨Islands⟩ promontories – Fair Islands of emerald verdure seemd to melt into the silver wave; insomuch that the tips of the grass sparkled above the water where the land was no longer visible – The ⟨wa⟩ currents, dimpling as if with pleasure wound among these gentle scenes & here & there the ⟨dancing⟩ rippling waves danced in the sunbeams. Ah witching scenes of foul delusion – treacherous waves – like the smiles & allurements of a deceitful world – ever tempting the inexperienced to dangr and repentance[78] –

[*p. [82]*]
thus our simple voyagers beguiled by the ⟨fair aspect of⟩ smiling aspect of the stream sat gazing ⟨in⟩ at the beauteous prospect before them, while the current encreasing in strength hurried them towards this modern Pylorus, far exceeding the ancient one in horrors and dangers.[79]

[*pp. [83–84] blank*]

[*four leaves torn out between pp. [84] and [85]*]

[*pp. [85–88] blank*]

[*The entries in the remaining pages of the notebook read upside down and from the back of the notebook forward. For the convenience of the reader the editors have arranged them here in normal order.*]

[*inside back cover*][80]
'D

B. [*unrecovered jotting*]

78. Similar passages, not in the edition of 1809, were added later. See *A History of New York* (*Works,* XI, 124–25): "Just before them the grand course of the stream, making a sudden bend, wound among embowered promontories and shores of emerald verdure, that seemed to melt into the wave. . . .

"Ah! witching scenes of foul delusion. Ah! hapless voyagers, gazing with simple wonder on these Circean shores! Such, alas! are they, poor easy souls, who listen to the seductions of a wicked world — treacherous are its smiles! fatal its caresses."

79. Pelorus, ancient name of Capo di Faro, a promontory in the northeastern part of Sicily, which Irving mentions in his first European journal under the dates of January 5 and 24, 1805, and in his traveling notes of January 4, 1805. See *Journals and Notebooks,* I, 159, 175, 515. Another reference to Long Island Sound, "this neighborhood has like the straits of Pelorus of yore, a region of fable and romance to me," is found in "Hell-Gate," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works,* XXI, 437). Pelorus is near the horrors and dangers of the legendary Scylla and Charybdis of Greek mythology. "<Here . . . dangers" is written in ink.

80. The inside back cover has a full length pocket; its outside is blank except for the letters "D" and "B" at top and bottom respectively.

[*p. [156]*]
Eachart on contempt of the clergy.[81]
Conciseness

Stewart professor of Ethics[82]
Life & death[.] art of prolonging life by LD Verulam[83]

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3 Letters in Gent. Mag. 1787 under signature of Sundry Whereof written by Prof Porson in defence of Hawkins' Johnson.[84]

Porsons letters to Archdeacon Travis on the contested verse 1 John v 7 appeared in 1790 or 93 –
– Dramas of Euripides.[85]

[*p. [155]*]
March 1806
1807 Salg
1808 began
Knick
journey to
Canada
retd in June[86]

81. John Eachard (1636?–1697), an English divine, wrote *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion enquired into* . . . (London, 1760). This work, full of wit and humor, passed through many editions and reprintings.

82. Dugald Stewart, the Scottish philosopher and professor of mathematics at the University of Edinburgh, was the author of *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 3 vols. (London, 1792–1827) and *Dissertation, exhibiting a general view of the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy, since the revival of letters in Europe* published as a supplement to the fourth, fifth, and sixth editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [by Dugald Stewart, John Playfair, and W. T. Brande], ed. by M. Napier (Edinburgh, 1824). See also n. 37 above.

83. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), first Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, was a statesman, philosopher, and essayist. Bacon's *Historia Vitae et Mortis* (1623) was later published in English under the title *History Natural and Experimental, of Life and Death. Or, Of the Prolongation of Life* (1658).

84. Letters appearing in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (August, September, and October, 1787), written over the signature of "Sundry Whereof" by the English classical scholar Richard Porson (1759–1808) in defense of John Hawkins' *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1787) (in *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. together with His Life, and Notes on His Lives of the Poets* [London, 1787–1788]; included in volume 1 which had just been published).

85. Porson's letters, appearing in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (October and December, 1788, and February, April, June, and August, 1789), challenged the view of George Travis (1741–1797), archdeacon of Chester, that the disputed verse was genuine. Porson edited four plays of Euripides, *Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenisae,* and *Medea* between 1797 and 1801, the first three anonymously.

86. The entries "March 1806 . . . June" are written right side up at the top of

[*p. [154]*]
N Jerseymen drink
Stone fence
Stone fence[87]

[*p. [153]*]
Uncle peter & Jack[88] must adjourn causes till tomorrow morning –
Peter must go to Wells & compare cases – tell Wells that West[89] will perhaps come down before I leave &

[*p. [152]*]
Mononia! when nature embellished the tint
Of thy fields & thy mountains so fair
Did she ever intend that a tyrant should print
The footsteps of slavery there –
No freedom! whose smiles we shall ever resign
Go tell our invaders the Danes
That tis sweeter to bleed for an age at thy shrine
Than to sleep but a moment in chains

Forget not our wounded companions who stood
In the day of distress by our side
While the moss of the valley grew red with their blood
They stirrd not, but conquerd & died
The sun that now blesses our arms with his light
Saw them fall upon Ossorys plain
O let him not blush when he leaves us to night
To find that they fell there in vain[90]

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the page, possibly indicating that they had been written earlier, before Irving turned the notebook upside down and began writing from the back forward. They in part repeat entries on pp. 3–4 above.

87. Stone fence is a mixed alcoholic drink, usually of whiskey and cider or of applejack and cider.

88. Possibly Peter Augustus Jay (1776–1843), lawyer and politician, and John Wells (1770–1823), distinguished New York lawyer. See also p. 99 and n. 23.

89. Possibly a reference to Irving's friend, William Edward West (1788–1857), the American portrait painter.

90. The second and third stanzas of Thomas Moore's "War Song. Remember the glories of Brien the Brave" (*The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* [London, 1841], III, 224–25). Though different editions show variations in punctuation, Irving not only ignored much punctuation but wrote "footsteps" in line 4, and "smiles" and "ever" in line 5 for "footstep," "smile," and "never." Brien, or Brian, Boru, or Boroimhe (940?–1014), great monarch of Ireland, was killed in the battle of Clontarf after having broken the Norse power in Ireland forever. Mononia is another name for Munster, the region he subjugated, and is the name of his royal house. Ossary is another ancient Irish kingdom.

[*p. [151] blank*]

[*p. [150]*]
⟨Oh remember the⟩
The sun had almost sunk into the west when we gained the summit of the mountain and beheld before us the great valley of Shenandoah.[91] It was a rich autumnal evening and as the warm tint of the sun shone

[*p. [149] blank*]

[*p. [148]*]

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
  This is my own, my native land
Whose heart hath neer within him burned
As home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand
If such there breathe, go, mark him well
For him no Minstrell raptures swell
High though his titles, proud his name
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim
Despite those titles, power & pelf
The wretch, concentered all on self
Living shall forfeit fair renown
And doubly dying shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung
Unwept, unhonoured and unsung[92]

O Caledonia! stern & wild
Meet nurse for a poetic child!
Land of brown heath & shaggy wood
Land of the mountain & the flood
Land of my sires! what mortal hand
Can eer untie the filial band
That knits me to thy rugged strand

[*p. [147]*]
Still as I view each well known scene
Think what is now & what hath been

91. Perhaps a recollection of Irving's visit to Virginia in 1807 (See STW, I, 96–97).

92. Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto 6, stanza 1. Irving ignored some of the punctuation as he copied such selections.

Seems as, to me, of all bereft
Sole friends, thy woods & streams were left,
And thus I love them better still
Even in extremity of ill.
By Yarrows stream still let me stray
Tho none should guide my feeble way
Still feel the breeze down Ettricke sweep
Altho it chill my withered cheek
Still lay my head by Teviot stone
Tho there forgotten & alone
The bard may draw his parting groan[93]

[*p. [146]*]
Fair Margaret from the turret head
Heard far below, the coursers tread,
  While loud the harness rung.
As to their seats with clamour dread,
  The ready horsemen sprung;
And trampling hoofs & iron coats
And leaders voices mingled notes
  And out! And out!
  In hasty route,
  The Horsemen galloped forth,
Dispersing to the south to scout,
And east & west and north,
To view their coming enemies
And warn their vassals and allies.[94]

The livelong night in Branksome rang[95]

[*p. [145]*]
Mamakating – in Ulster County[96] – ⟨Bankwd the⟩ Elisha Ostrander

[*p. [144]*]
Lo the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on

93. *Ibid.*, canto 6, stanza 2. The standard text has "break" for "sweep" at the end of line 16.

94. *Ibid.*, canto 3, stanza 28.

95. *Ibid.*, canto 3, stanza 30, line 1. "Fair . . . rang" is written in ink.

96. The town of Mamakating on the Shawangunk River, Sullivan County, New York.

the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.[97]

[*p. [143]*]

Grave to be considered as burying rational & irrational spirits – the works of the rational survive[?] the other is in the heart which perished ——

Seed some rot others spring up[98]
Dreams of literary men

[*p. [142]*]

All his sires amassed
Now flaunts in ribbands in tiaras flames
Full oer her front, & now to robes converts
Of Chian loose, or Alidonian mould
Good's Lucret[99]

———

Soft Sicyons shoes superb[100] –

———

To examine Burke on Sublime – Longinus[101] –
Shew pathos & tenderness
mother & sleeping infant
Love as depicted in Good.[102]

[*p. [141] blank*]

97. Irving quoted these verses from the "Song of Solomon" (2:10–12) in *A History of New York* (*Works*, XI, 115); "The Lovers," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 43), and paraphrased them in a letter to Frederick S. Cozzens, dated May 27, 1857 (PMI, IV, 231). "Lo . . . land" is written in ink.

98. Irving developed this thought in "Rural Funerals," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 195–211).

99. John Mason Good's translation of *De rerum natura* of Lucretius was published in London in 1805 as *On the Nature of Things, a Didactic Poem.* Irving quotes from bk. 4, lines 1123–26, but has "All" for "What" as the first word. Chia, or Chios, and Alinda are towns in Caria.

100. *On the Nature of Things,* bk. 4, line 1119. Sicyon was an ancient Greek city near Corinth. Shoes from Sicyon were considered luxurious and ostentatious.

101. Edmund Burke (1729–1797), statesman and philosopher, published *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* in 1756 (in *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* [Boston, 1826], I, 71–219). *On the Sublime,* one of the great early monuments of literary criticism ascribed to Longinus, the Greek writer, who probably lived in the first century. Irving may have been reading their studies of the sublime.

102. Good's translation of Lucretius, mentioned in n. 99.

[*p. [140]*]
Memorandums of what I am to see if I revisit London[103]

Goldsmiths Garret. Green arbour Court[104] –

While in Germany a copy of His pleasures of Hope was proposed to be publishd in Vienna [–] forbidden by Court in consequence of his praises of Koskiusko & ⟨remarks⟩ what relates to partition of poland[105] –

There be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant & to the quick –

Grapes set the teeth on edge – these piquant conversations which set the teeth on edge

[*p. [139]*]
throws forth his ideas with a rapid conciseness which enables them to strike the mind with the greatest force. – Conciseness and simplicity necessary to sublimity of writing – Simplicity I place in opposition to studied & profuse ornament and conciseness to superfluity of expression. – ⟨It⟩

The addition of images apt to break in upon the simple grandeur of the sound & diminish the ⟨effect of the⟩ Sublimity

---

Rhyme in english verse very inconsistent with the sublime or at least unfavourable to it.

In the sublime one trifling circumstance, one mean idea is sufficient to destroy the whole charm ⟨it is⟩ like a mountebank interupting the [*three words unrecovered*] kings

103. Irving first visited London, October 9, 1805–January 17, 1806. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 455–58. He returned in the summer of 1815.

104. Goldsmith lived in 1758 "in a very shabby house, No. 12 Green Arbour Court, between the Old Bailey and Fleet Market." See Irving's *Oliver Goldsmith* (*Works*, IV, 132–36) for a detailed description which Irving had in part published in "Buckthorne and His Friends," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works*, XXI, 157–58). Irving wrote his first biographical sketch of Goldsmith in 1825 in Paris for Galignani's "Collection of English Literature." Irving made additional notes about Green Arbour Court in "Notes circa 1817." See p. 171 and n. 11 of this volume.

105. In slightly altered form printed in "Thomas Campbell" (*Works*, XVII, 151).

[*p. [138]*]
⟨At such times when I a [*two words unrecovered*] such happy moments. I recall them again but the charm is destroyed – Here is the past [*unrecovered*] & [*unrecovered*] begin our tale exact thing & found in⟩[106]

The ↑art of↓ sublime lies in seizing the grand ⟨object⟩ & awful objects of nature & presenting them clearly to the mind

---

Fundamental merit of Didactic poetry – Sound thought – just principles [–] clear & apt illustrations

---

solid & judicious thought

Stewart prof Philosophy & ↑political↓ economy at University Edinbg – Playfair Natural philosophy[107]

[*p. [137]*]
Little french slattern bell[e] with immense dirty white flower on her bonnet – nankeen riding dress

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consideration – acerbing[?] – sober good fine rationality

affluence of style

[*p. [136]*]
⟨Stodhart⟩
Stodarts ⟨females have⟩ beauties have all got blue eyes and fragile figures [–] are all troubled with a fit of the cholic[108] –

[*p. [135]*]
Between the scudding clouds the ↑pure↓ Ether seemed lighted up by the brilliancy of the stars into a ⟨pure and⟩ sea[?] of chrystal.

The amazing brilliancy ⟨and⟩ of the stars which shot their lambent ⟨fires th⟩ rays thro the pure expanse of ether like fierce white flames

106. Irving's notations may have been occasioned by reading Longinus, who in chap. 43, entitled "That Sublimity is impaired by trivial expressions," touches the subject. See *Longinus on The Sublime*, trans. Thomas R. R. Stebbing (Oxford, 1867), pp. 159–73. These five lines, barely visible, are almost illegible and are crossed out with zigzag lines.

107. Professors Stewart and Playfair are identified in n. 35 above.

108. Possibly a reference to the popular English artist, Thomas Stothart (1755–1834).

[*p. [134]*]

It will serve to convince [*unrecovered*] that our own rivers flow equally melodiously in verse as the oft sung rivers of Elysium [–] that a scene of pastoral happiness may be ⟨laid equally⟩ painted with equal beauty among our ⟨wild awesome woods as⟩ [*two words unrecovered*] woods as in the valley of [*unrecovered*] Piedmont[109]

[*p. [133] blank*]

[*p. [132]*]

Old maid sarcastic & severe [,] the spirit of youth evaporated – like pipe of wine when the spirit has been drawn off [–] what remains turns to vinegar[110]

[*p. [131]*]

There is in this city a Society composed of several highly respectable gentlemen called the NYHS. They ⟨meet over what⟩ meet once a quarter to talk over what they have not done & what they ought to do – Their great glory is however on the festival of the good St. N. when they assemble together [,] hear a speech from one of their members who is generally appointed on account of his age – after which they eat a ⟨great⟩ ↑very good↓ dinner drink a number of very bad toasts & then adjourn until the next festival. By dint of their meeting for several years they have amassed a considerable store of Almanaks &c &c &c which they store with great care & caution in a suit of appartments which are occasionally loaned out to portrait painters &c[111]

109. This passage reflects Irving's appraisal of Campbell's presentation of American scenes in "Gertrude of Wyoming." Cf. "We are delighted to witness the air of captivating romance and rural beauty our native fields and wild woods can assume under the plastic pencil of a master. . . . This may assist to convince many, who were before slow to believe, that our country is capable of inspiring the highest poetic feelings, and furnishing abundance of poetic imagery. . . . Wherever Nature—sweet Nature—displays herself in simple beauty or wild magnificence . . . ("Thomas Campbell," in *Biographies and Miscellanies* [*Works*, XVII, 161–62]).

110. Cf. "Mrs. Hannah, a prim pragmatical old maid; . . . She has kept her virtue by her until it has turned sour, and now every word and look smacks of verjuice" ("The Widow's Retinue," in *Bracebridge Hall* [*Works*, IV, 63]).

111. Irving was elected to the New-York Historical Society, September 10, 1809. A month earlier the Society had moved to new quarters in the Government House, at the foot of Broadway, facing Bowling Green, and books previously stored in the City Library were now transferred there. Irving dedicated *A History of New York* (1809) to the Society. See Robert H. Kelby, *The New-York Historical Society, 1804–1904* (New York, 1905), p. 22, and R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society 1804–1954* (New York, 1954), p. 330. "There . . . &c" is written in ink and is upside down.

[*p. [130]*]

Surpassing the visions of Alchymy or the golden dreams of el Dorado[112]

[*p. [129] blank*]

[*p. [128]*]

– Capt Philips –

The situation of the house is on a ⟨rais plain on the top raised on terrace⟩ natural terrace, which forms part of an extensive plain ⟨on the⟩ elevated about 200 feet above the level of the river.[113] from hence you have a grand view up & down the highlands with the river winding among the mountains. West point is directly opposite – The Old Fort looks like the ruins of some feudal castle while the barracks on the terrace below appear like the houses of its dependant vassals & retainers. A long promontory ⟨progr advancing on⟩ gives the river a serpentine course & at a distance the eye enjoys a broad opening between the opposite bluffs of Bull & Butter hill – which seem like side scenes to ⟨wherever back⟩ distant prospect of undulating country – where [*p. [127]*] the white houses & church of New Windsor are indistinctly seen & the shadowy lines of the ⟨Catskill⟩ ↑Shawunga↓ mountains close the scene.

Mingled masses of Wood & Grey rock – rich green of the mountain gullies where the torrents occasionally deposit soil & impart moisture. – ⟨Broad⟩ The Idea of a broad & at the same time deep & unobstructed river fills the mind – Possesses Sublimity. edges on the arid mountains skirted with green marshes. – Dewy freshness of the country after a rain. ⟨a vernal green⟩ ↑bright green↓ reeking with humidity – Mountain brook splashing & dashing along among mossy rocks – trees half fallen whose foliage over hang the [*p. [126]*] water & seem dripping with humidity – weeds & nameless vagrant vines hanging in festoons – crumbling moisture of the soil – old trunks of trees mouldering ⟨green⟩ & ⟨?emprinting? with fungi⟩ giving birth to fungi & weeds – dewy coldness of the mountain rifts thro which the water runs – The chestnut shoots its smooth trunk athwart the chasms – the bright glossy leaf of the rock oak[114][–] the light airy foliage of the larch – the tufted ⟨glossy⟩ shrubbery – ⟨the⟩

[*p. [125]*]

⟨trees clambering up⟩

112. Irving's interest in alchemy is reflected in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 183–283), and in his early notebook entries. See "Haddon Hall," pp. 348–51.

113. Captain Frederick Philipse's house, described here, called Highland Grange, was a favorite resort for Irving and his friends. See n. 60 for full identification.

114. The species of oak, botanically named *quercus pinus*, is commonly called chestnut oak or rock oak.

Rocks bare in some places [,] at others mantled with redundant foliage, which seems to cling to their sides & grapple hold of the ⟨litt⟩ crevices which afford a scanty but prolific soil, little glens down which the foliage seems to pour to the water side[115]

Scene at west point – as I was looking at it through a telescope I perceived a ⟨stri⟩ tall stripling soldier – bare footed standing on a rock by the river playing a fife – It was evidently his only mode of beguiling that superabundance of leisure with which he was afflicted – now & then he would stop & jerk stones [*p. 124*] into the river but ⟨I could hear⟩ from the distance at which he was from me I could hear the notes of his fife sometime after he had taken it from his lips. I watched him as he sauntered up the rocks to the fort – some times lost among the trees & shrubs at other times hid by a turn of the rocks.

Sound of solitary drum from the fort – Dismantled forts and barracks in ruins.

Passing & repassing of vessels on the river below us – the winding of the river presents them in every kind of bearing & position

[*pp. [123–121] blank*]

[*p. [120]*]

Fundamental proposition on which all philosophical discussion proceeds, and under which every philosophical discussion or discovery may be arranged –

"*Every change that we observe in the state or condition of things* IS CONSIDERED BY US *as an effect, indicating the agency, characterizing the kind, & determining the degree of its* INFERRED *cause.*"[116]

Philosophy is the Study of Phenomena of the Universe, with a view to discover their causes, to explain subordinate phenomena and to improve art –

The employment of the philosopher like that of the natural historian is threefold *Discription Arrangement* and *Reference*, while the objects are not *things* but *events*[117]

115. The entire passage, "Rocks . . . side," written in ink, is canceled with a vertical pencil line through it.

116. Unidentified quotation.

117. Probably Irving's paraphrase of his readings in philosophy.

[*p. [119]*]

"Many absurd causes have been assigned for the phenomena of the Universe; but no set of men have ever said that they happened without a cause. This is so repugnant to all our propensities and instincts, that even the atheistical Sect, who, of all others would have profited most by the doctrine have never thought of advancing it to avoid so shocking an absurdity They have rather allowed that chance, that the concourse of atoms, are the causes of the beautiful arrangements of nature."[118]

Chief rule ⟨in promoting⟩ to be observed in philosophizing – "Similar causes are to be ascribed to similar phenomena[119] –" Newton modifies this by enjoining that "no causes shall be admitted but such as are true, & sufficient to account for the phenomena."[120]

[*p. [118]*]

"All hypotheses should be banished from philosophical discussion as frivolous & ⟨absurd⟩ useless, administring to vanity alone. As the explanation of any appearance is nothing but the pointing out the general fact of which this is a particular instance, a hypothesis can give no explanation: knowing nothing of cause & effect but the conjunction of two events we see nothing of causation where one of the events is hypothetical" – "Nothing has done so much harm in philosophy as the introduction of hypotheses."[121]

"The author of nature seems to delight in variety, and there cannot be named a single purpose in which the most inconceivable fertility in resource is not observed. It is the most delightful occupation of the curious mind and the sensible heart to contemplate the various contrivances of nature in accomplishing similar ends."[122]

[*p. [117] blank*]

[*one leaf torn out between pp. [117] and [116]*]

118. This unidentified quotation, the criticism of many English divines in the 17th and 18th centuries, is based on Cicero's denial that the universe was the product of fortuitous concourse of particles of matter. See Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (chap. I, xxiv, 66).

119. This idea parallels a thought expressed by David Hume in *A Treatise of Human Nature*, bk. 1, pt. 3, sect. 15.

120. Unidentified.

121. Unidentified.

122. Unidentified. "– Capt . . . ends" is written in ink.

[*p. [116]*]
very fine company [–] no fault to find with them – couldn't expect to find them all polished
↑Oh no –↓ – boy dancer –
Ball – girl rather hard to coax[123]

Thus have I seen an honest drop of water all at once blown up into a very self important little bubble and lording it vaingloriously over its native kind[?] but a little while and the wind that inflated it passed away [–] it sunk down into the same drop it was at first and would no longer be distinguishable from the other drops of the stream

[*p. [115] blank*]

[*p. [114]*]
There is something indescribably charming & fanciful in the extravagance – the superstitions and the ever present[?] ⟨chemerical⟩ illusions with which chemerical ignorance once clothed every subject – These twilight views of nature and of science were infinitely more wild and pleasing than any thing which sobre truth presents. The reason being too weak to pierce the mystery that envelopes every natural phenomenon, the imagination takes it up – and dresses it out in forms & colours of its own ⟨wild⟩ Hence the singular fables of Fairies, sylphs & enchanters by which ⟨some⟩ ignorant nations attempted to explain the prodigies of nature – Hence the wild dreams of ——— and ——— & ——— ⟨dream⟩ which almost make us lament that the clear light of philosophy should ever put an end to such [*p. [113]*] delightful ⟨visions⟩ ↑fantasies↓ – As the clear ⟨light of⟩ day of knowledge advances their dreams of darkness & heaviness are dispelled but who does not sometimes turn with distaste from the sober realities of morning – and wish to close his eyes and recall the golden visions of the night

[*p. [112]*]
Perception
We percieve external objects thro the medium of impressions and sensations –

[*p. [111]*]
Old Pecher Prau Van Zandt[124] was once puzzled to trace relationship – ⟨deres⟩ Deres Janeway[125] comes and marries my ⟨son⟩ daughter – deres

123. See Irving's entry for September 2, 1810, with similar comments. The word "Ball" seems to have been added in ink to identify the girl.

124. The name Van Zandt occurs in *A History of New York* (*Works*, XI, 111, 112, 447) but appears also in New York annals in Irving's lifetime. A Peter P.

my ⟨daug⟩ son marries a daughter of Janeway Den Old Janeway comes & marries my daughter – now what de divil kind of relation you call all dat –

[*p. [110] blank*]

[*p. [109]*]
(and the wor[l]d awakens to a sense of his value when he can no longer be benefited by its favours or soothed by its adulation[)][126]

[*p. [108]*]
⟨arise⟩
Conversation with St. As Nose[127] – formerly chin above water – talks thro nose – coarse voice – hoarse from wind – tells me about breaking thro of the river – The good old Mountain fell into such a violent fit of Laughter like to have split sides – fits wheezing – sneezed – very much incommoded by a Bald eagle that buzzed about its noze [–] sneezed & shook me 10 miles to Capt. Phps.[128] when I awoke
(⟨old⟩ Mountain began to fret & I saw the old Gent was testy.[)]

[*p. [107]*]
I started with horror, & ⟨awakened⟩ the scene immediately changed. ⟨the gigantic indian was gone.⟩ I found myself seated under the plane tree – the hudson rolled on quietly below me – the Sun had just sunk behind the ⟨Moun⟩ hills – and I discerned that I had been in a dream – instead of the gigantic indian I saw before me the blasted maple. ⟨and instead⟩ of his voice I heard the echoes of the even[in]g gun rolling among the ⟨mountain⟩ echos of the highland the smoke rolling up the mountain.

[*p. [106]*]
Rosicrucian mysteries,[129] the ideas of Sylphs hovering around –

Van Zandt was a member of the state legislature in 1784, another was a listed property owner in 1799, and General Peter P. Van Zandt was a militia commander in 1812.

125. The name Janeway is also prominent in early New York history.

126. Cf. Irving's "Thomas Campbell:" "and the world awakens to a sense of his value, when he is removed beyond its patronage forever" (*Works*, XVII, 141).

127. Anthony's Nose is a promontory 1220 feet above the Hudson in Philipstown, near the Westchester County line, where Irving often visited. How Peter Stuyvesant named this promontory after his trumpeter's nose, "of a very lusty size, strutting boldly from his countenance like a mountain of Golconda," Irving relates in *A History of New York* (*Works*, XI, 386–87).

128. Captain Frederick Philipse, identified in n. 60.

129. The Rosicrucians were members of an esoteric sect dealing with occult symbols and claiming their origin in ancient Egypt. Irving made notes on alchemists

How delicious the idea that the souls of those whom we once loved but who ⟨are lost⟩ have been severed from us forever, have been suffered to ⟨attend⟩ revisit us – to watch over us, to protect us – such an idea calculatd to make us more pure in our most secret actions.[130]

Millions of airy spirits &c

Milton[131]

It would console us in this earthly separation –

Ghosts, not displeasing to a pure conscience –
Fairies. Midsummer nights dream –
I am sorry that no new superstition is springing up.
Sacred awe in visiting solitudes – sounds by viewless forms –

[p. [105]]

With what fondness does the strongest mind dwell ⟨of⟩ on the superstitions of the nursery – how do we often endeavour for a moment to conjure up past scenes and dream ourselves for a moment into the pleasing feeling of superstition we once felt – I reccollect when a child the delicious horror I felt on hearing the stories of faris ghosts & goblins – what then must have been the feelings of those in ancient times who trusted in them

[p. [104]]

I never think on those dreams of fairy land without a confidence that there is something in store for mankind infinitely more delightful than any thing we can conceive of the kind – as the power & mind of Deity is more creative than man certainly his abode of blessedness must far transcend all those visions of bliss & enjoyment that mortals can picture – the emperial palace of Milton[132] – the elysium of the ancient – the paradise of Machaut[133]

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and mystics in his "Haddon Hall" notes. See pp. 348–51. He utilized some of these ideas in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 215).

130. Irving developed this thought in "St. Mark's Eve:" "What could be more consoling than the idea that the souls of those whom we once loved were permitted to return and watch over our welfare? . . . A brief of this kind would, I should think, be a new incentive to virtue; rendering us circumspect even in our secret moments, from the idea that those we once loved and honored were invisible witnesses of all our actions" (*Bracebridge Hall* [*Works*, IV, 157]).

131. Irving's memory of this line from *Paradise Lost* (bk. 4, line 677) is not exact. See below p. 37, where he quotes it correctly. See n. 136, below.

132. See Milton's *Paradise Regained*, bk. 4, lines 50–53.

133. Lines describing paradise appear in the prologue to *Le Dit dou Vergier* of the French poet Guillaume de Machaut (1284–1377) (*Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Ernest Hœpffner [Paris, 1908], I, 9–10, lines 115–25).

& ⟨there⟩ the Mussulman shall see a paradise far more excelin[g] in splendor that the most delicious paradise of an eastern imagination.[134]

[*p. 103*]
dreams – how delightful the scenes into which our imaginations carry us. I consider a Rosicrucian as one engaging in a long dream.

Some of the ancient mythology is delightful – ⟨I was⟩ I am always fond of that part which treats of the sylvan dieties the naiads & dryads, the Satyrs & fauns. used to love to picture to myself a merry group, bursting forth with whoop & hallow from some shady copse & gamboling over the lawn. The sweet superstitions of the ancients who fancied the dieties decended & held familiar converse with man – this has been plain – every place renderd interesting by these stories.

The Idyls of Theocritus[135] &c &c. [–] [*p. [102]*] less of gloom in these superstitions – The eastern superstitions the most pleasing – splendid – sensual

⟨The ghos⟩

⟨The [*unrecovered*] of the ghosts superstition long⟩ so ⟨the⟩ The superstition of ghosts should be the most delightful, but that ⟨man⟩ the believers have always inclind to send them on gloomy & disastrous missions. partaking of the complexion of their minds.

[*p. [101]*]

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
⟨Both⟩
Unseen, both when we wake & when we sleep
All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
Both day & night: how often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air
Sole or responsive each to others note
Singing their great Creator? Oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
In full harmonic number joind, their songs
Divide the night & lift our thoughts to heaven[136]

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134. The entire passage, "I never think . . . imagination," is crossed out by a vertical line.

135. Greek pastoral poetry reached its height with the *Idylls* of Theocritus, who flourished about 270 B.C. His bucolic characters are real and alive.

136. A quotation, with minor changes in punctuation and spellings from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, bk. 4, lines 677–88.

[*p. [100]*]

Taylors shoemakers &c. put an extravagant advance on their merchandize to cover the losses they suffer by needy beaux – so that the latter gentry may be said to be clothed by the honest gentlemen of ye. city.[137]

When we look at the stars & reflect how little important it would seem to us if one of them were to be suddenly extinguished – that we might talk of it for a day or two & then pass on to more interesting objects – does not the reflection come home to us – just so insignificant in the great system of ⟨the universe⟩ creation would be the annihilation of this planet.

& reflection of a ⟨worm⟩ ↑mite↓ on the probable annihilation of the ⟨apple⟩ ↑cheese↓ he inhabited[138] ⟨wh⟩ – revolutions & wars of the cheese.

[*p. [99]*]

Apocalypse

[*p. [98]*]

⟨*one line unrecovered*⟩

⟨death & dreams⟩

In the joyous season of Spring did the [*blank*] wonderful [*unrecovered*]

⟨*one line unrecovered*⟩

Deciples of Porcius Latro[139] having made themselves pale as their master by drinking decoctions of Cumin thot themselves as learned.

Gil Blas VIII 9[140]

[*p. [97] blank*]

137. Compare "Neither did they establish their claims to gentility at the expense of their tailors, for as yet those offenders against the pockets of society, and the tranquillity of all aspiring young gentlemen, were unknown in New Amsterdam . . ." (*A History of New York* [*Works*, XI, 192]). <"arise . . . (p. 35) . . . city" is written in ink.

138. Irving's essay, "Family Servants" in *Bracebridge Hall*, is headed by this quotation: "Verily old servants are the vouchers of worthy housekeeping. They are like rats in a mansion, or mites in a cheese, bespeaking the antiquity and fatness of their abode" (*Works*, IV, 29).

139. M. Porcius Latro (ca. 55 B.C.–4? A.D.), a Spaniard by birth and a celebrated Roman rhetorician in the reign of Augustus, was a friend and contemporary of the elder Seneca. Ovid was one of his disciples.

140. Irving quotes a passage from Le Sage's novel, *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, bk. 8, chap. 9 (Paris: Editions Classiques Garnier, 1926), II, 141.

[*p. [96]*]
Here the impetuous tides which prevail in those parts seized their slender canoes & hurried them along as if by supernatural force [–] after some vain efforts to contend they yielded themselv to the current. and now did they glide between the fair shores of Mannahatta & Nassau[141]

[*pp. [95–93] blank*]

[*p. [92]*]
Aristotle prescribed a middle age for matrimony[142] – but then the sexes were brought up separate & the time of the young men was devoted to perfecting themselves in the arts &c [–] here the sexes live together very early – and time of youths devotd to love & gallantry – trifling – heart becomes worn out &c

[*p. [91] blank*]

[*p. [90]*]
On the bad system of treating our women.

Modern writers have done the sex an injury by holding them up as equal to man Much harm done by gallantry – a bad interloper in philosophy – grave philos playing the gallant – women talk as long as they live

true plan is not to censure & ridicule women for talking but to teach them to talk well ⟨by the⟩ then they may talk as much as they please – this fluency is intended as a blessing to man – to solace him in his cares & onerous studies

Little women with lovers [–] rivalships – heart breaking & friendships at 12 years of age [–] crossed in love at 13. old maid [–] or reject at 19 [*p. 89*] & these little girls women are to be the matrons of a republic – the Portias[143] &c &c

141. "Manna-hata" and "Manhattoes," early names for New York, and "Nassau," a historic name for Long Island, appear frequently in *A History of New York.* The names "Manhatta," "Manahata," and "Manahatin" are found first in Hudson's journal and on a map of 1610, prepared for James I, but do not designate the same precise areas. Hudson represents the Hoboken side as "Manhatta" or "Manahata" while the map puts "Manahata" on the west and "Manahatin" on the east side of the river. Though these names are of Indian origin they were not tribal names of the natives. See James G. Wilson, ed., *The Memorial History of the City of New-York* (New York, 1892), I, 30, 33–36.

142. See Aristotle's *Politics*, bk. 7, xiv, 6 (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1932), p. 621: "Therefore it is fitting for the women to be married at about the age of eighteen and the men at thirty-seven or a little before—for that will give long enough for the union to take place with their bodily vigour at its prime. . . . "

143. Disguised as a doctor of law, Portia, a rich heiress in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, successfully defends her husband's friend and thus saves his life.

TOUR IN WALES 1815

This manuscript journal is No. 6 of the Seligman Collection in the New York Public Library. It consists of 36 written pages of a brown leather notebook 4¾ × 7⅝ inches with flexible covers. Some pages have been torn out and at the back are many pages that have pencil sketches by Irving. It is written in ink.

[*front cover*]

July 31, 1815
Mems Tour in Wales[1]

[*inside front cover*]

r[e]m[embe]r[?] to write to Chs Rhind[2]

[*p. [1]*]
Acct: Oct [*unrecovered*]
Welsh family a father mother son in law & Daughter & child – Son in law davy

two Pigs Harnessed
[*pencil sketch of the family group*]

[*p. [2] blank*]

[*p. [3]*]
July 31, 1815

Left Birmingham at 10 oclock in Post Chaise with Renwick.[3] Weather uncommonly beautiful. After 6 miles ride thro picturesque country, alight and visit the Leasowes, formerly the *ferme orné* of Shenstone.[4]

1. Written in ink in a hand not Irving's.

2. Charles Rhind was a merchant and diplomat, who lived in New York from 1810 to 1845. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 469, n. 87.

3. James Renwick (1790–1863), the young Columbia College professor and friend, was traveling in Europe and had met Irving in Birmingham for a tour in Wales. A week earlier Irving and Renwick made a brief excursion to Kenilworth, Warwick, and Stratford, described in detail and with much humor in Irving's letter to Mrs. Jean [Jane or Mrs. William] Renwick, dated Birmingham, July 27, 1815. See *Letters*, I, 403–11.

4. Laid out elaborately by the poet William Shenstone (1714–1763), the

The walks have been well laid out to produce scenic effect without encroaching on the grounds. The ornaments (such as grottoes urns &c) are paltry & injure the whole – From hence to Hagley 6 miles. Visit the noble seat of Lord Lyttleton [–] the House large & imposing but heavy. Fine herds of deer. large Obelisk – Temples &c – fine lawns forest trees &c[5]

Take a lunchion in the garden [*p. [4]*] of the Inn – which was full of company.

Hence to ⟨Worcester⟩ Kidderminster. Fine old church on elevated ground commanding fine view of distant Country. Lion Inn – – where we had a fine bottle of Perry.[6]

Hence to Worcester – where we ⟨aft⟩ arrivd before sundown.

Cathederal Interior very fine by sunset. Old sexton gives me neat a/c of Tombs.

August 1

In morning visit china work[7]

Hoppole Inn at Worcester – Parlour on groundfloor [–] rooms third story

[p. *[5]*]

Leave Worcester at 1 oclock. Ride to Tewkesbury.

from Tewksbury to Cheltenham – put up at Plough Inn – not very good. Walk in the grounds. In evening see *The Will.*[8] Mrs Edwin played Miss Mandeville.

[*p. [6]*]

August 2

From ⟨Bath⟩ ↑Cheltenham↓ to Gloucester 10 miles – Cathedral a fine building. Saxon, with Gothic additions. Clamberd up to the tower which commands a noble view of the valley in which Gloucester stands – rich & fertile borderd by picturesque Hills with Severn winding thro – Old sexton locked me up in the tower while he accompanid other visitors round the church – fearful I might give him the slip – Service

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Leasowes estate at Hagley became an eighteenth-century show place. Irving's term for it, *ferme ornée*, means "ornamental farm."

5. The family estate of George Fulke Lyttelton (1763–1828), second Baron Lyttelton of Frankley of the second creation.

6. A drink made from pears; pear cider.

7. The Royal Porcelain Works were established in 1751. Worcester china was noted for its artistic excellence.

8. Elizabeth Rebecca Edwin, née Richards (1771?–1854), a popular actress, was famous for her role of Albina Mandeville in Frederic Reynolds' *The Will* (1797).

performing in the cathederal and listend to the organ & the choire – resounding through the vaulted roofs.

Old Sexton who shows the church – by the name of Deane – a humourist – has shewn it to the King of England & France & prides himself on it – wears a foxy wig & b⟨a⟩lack robe – has many odd stories & regular jokes – King of England abused a new altar peice put up in the chapel & shewed great judgment in finding fault with all the innovations in the building

Tomb of Edward II is in the body of [*p. [7]*] the church. Also of Robert of Normandy Son of Wm ye Conqueror. His figure in coat of mail with face painted like life – all of a single peice of oak – Countenance fine –

Crypt of the Abbey ⟨has⟩ fine vaults Saxon Style. Shewn a place where two Bishops were immured chaind to the wall & starved to death.

[*p. [8]*]

From Gloucester the road lay through a finely wooded, hilly & romantic Country. Stopped at the ruins of an old abbey called Paynswick where we took sketches – from thence thro various Villages – Among the number *Stroud* – villages very old Gothic picturesque – pass Canal. Manufacturies &c – to Rodborough – where we take a luncheon at Fleece Hotel. ⟨fronting a fine landscape in the⟩ situatd in a valley with rich wooded country in front.[9]

This valley thro which the Stroud water runs ⟨is among the⟩ presents the most peculiar & beautiful Scenery I have seen in England. The valley is full of hamlets & Edifices of the cloth manufacturers – buildings are principally Gothic & give an antique air to the landscape.

After passing thro this valley we [*p. [9]*] ascended high hills & continued riding along a ridge of heights – the ⟨bare⟩ country on these heights very bare – roads borderd by stone walls. Fine Sunset. Sky coloured as in America. Descend the heights into the valley where Bath is situatd & arrive at the York House about ½ past 8.

[*p. [10]*]

August 3 and 4[10]

Remaind at Bath & walked through the principal streets. Visitd a collection of Roman antiquities found at Bath & Environs.

9. Irving's road lay through the region of the Cotswolds, a range of hills in Gloucestershire famous for its picturesque villages and beautiful scenery. A breed of large sheep with long wool, called Cotswolds, made the wool trade the source of the wealth in this area.

10. Irving's dateline reads "Aug 3d & part of 4th." Here, as elsewhere, the dateline is regularized and italicized, in accord with the editorial plan adopted for the *Journals and Notebooks*.

Evening – Spectacle – Slack & tight rope & Melodrama Tyger Horde[11] – Avon Street inhabitd by sweeps & trulls – sweep advertizes that he "understands the smoke Jack"[12]

[*p. [11]*]
August 4

Leave Bath Aug 4th. in the afternoon for Bristol – ride through a beautiful hilly country – distance 14 m – the view down the valley towards Bath very fine – country well cultivated but soil poor – chalky – arrive at Bristol between 5 & 6. Beautiful view of Bristol as you approach it. Put up at The Bush – a vile dirty Inn tho' highly reccommended – visit the church of St. Marys Redcliff & see the Room where Chatterton pretended to have found his papers[13] –

August 5

Stroll about Bristol through the morning – Town has some handsome Squares [–] Queens – Portlands &c. Many of the streets extremely old in Style of architecture. Leave Bristol at 12. distance to New Passage 9¾ miles but in Posting charged us 12. Arrive just in time to cross with the mail[14] – It requires a particular time of tide to pass here. Tide rises & falls [*p. [12]*] from 30 to 40 feet: distance across 3 miles. Crossed in about ½ an hour. Dined at the opposite ferry on excellent Salmon. Quarrel & fight in kitchen between two ragged & drunken Irishmen – who afterwards have an whimsical recconcilliation & cannot reccollect what they quarreld about.

The ride from ⟨Chepstow⟩ Hence to Chepstow is hilly – but the views beautiful – The country is wild & picturesque – & you have occasional views of the Severn.

At Chepstow put up at the George – a decent old landlady & plain but comfortable Inn.

Visit the ruins of Chepstow Castle at Sunset – They are extremely picturesque [–] built on precipices that overhang the river Wye which makes fine bends & sweeps ⟨the⟩ just here. The castle was shewn us by an old woman who has ⟨as mansion⟩ one or two of the old towers fitted up for her residence – [*p. [13]*] She has lived here 20 years – has buried

11. *Tiger Horde*, by an unknown author, was first performed in 1814.

12. Smokejack, a device for turning a fireplace spit by a wheel moved by the rising gases in the chimney.

13. Thomas Chatterton (1752–1770), the youthful poet genius and brilliant imitator who claimed his Rowley poems to be copies of fifteenth-century manuscripts found in the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe.

14. Actually early road guides show the distance to New Passage to be 11¾ miles. The Severn Tunnel, 4⅓ miles long, was opened in 1886 to replace the tedious ferry service.

her husband & three daughters & has 6 grand children living with her. Has gardens & wall fruit in the Courts of the Castle – village boys plunder her orchard. Pays the Duke of Beaufort 6£ rent. Says it is cold & dreary in winter – when the wind howls through the old courts & among the towers – the roof & flooring of one of the towers (where Marten was confined)[15] once fell in about dusk & the people of the village crowded to the church expecting to find the old lady buried under its ruins.

Her aunt had lived 90 years – had been born in that tower –

Dungeon of the castle – a large vaulted room under the Part she inhabited – window opening on the river which rolls a great distance beneath – remains of grand chapel within the [*p. [14]*] third court.

Sunday, August 6

Rise early and visit the ruins of the castle. After breakfast stroll

⟨Sketch of the Castle⟩

round its environs – Seaguls soaring round it & sweeping down to the river. A broad mass of light falling on the grey towers of the castle – visit the interior of the castle – Sit on the grass in its large court yard & listen to the distant bell of the village tolling for church – walls of castle overrun with Ivy – various birds have made their nests in the crevices of the towers & battlements & keep up a continual twittering [–] [*p. [15]*] great hammering at the great gate which at length is thrown open and enter through the Echoing barbican *two jackasses*[16] –

Great walnut tree stands in the center of the court

Leave Chepstow about 11. & have a fine romantic ride to Tintern[.] Cross a high hill & desend thro scenery similar to the Glens in the Hudson Highlands –

Tintern Abbey[17] – beautifully situatd in valley on the banks of the Wye – fine stroll along the bank to the village. Villagers winding along the bank going to church – Sound of the bell down the valley – church a little white stone building on the green.

Church & church yard on the hill [*p. [16]*] above Tintern Abbey commanding a beautiful view of the valley – Old gothic church –

15. Henry Marten (1602–1680), active in bringing Charles I to trial, was convicted as a regicide in 1660 and imprisoned for life. He died in Chepstow Castle.

16. Barbican, an outer defense to city or castle, especially a double tower over-gate or bridge.

17. The ruins of this abbey, founded in 1131, but mainly of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century construction, were made famous by Wordsworth's poem (1798), but Irving consistently ignored Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats and praised Byron, Campbell, and Moore. Irving refers to this "vast monastic ruin" in "The Author," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 12).

Dine at the Beaufort Arms – a small indifferent ⟨Saloon⟩Tavern the landlord of which shews the Abbey. Had excellent Salmon for dinner taken from the Wye. The road from this to Monmouth is extremely mountainous. And so narrow ⟨that⟩ (previous to entering the turnpike) that two Carriages could not pass each other in many places. Scenery very like America –

On reaching the Turnpike a vast & beautiful prospect breaks upon you – of a large & fertile valley surrounded by fine swelling mountains.

Reach Monmouth at sunset. A Town beautifully situatd in a valley with the Wye & Monnow flowing by it – Put up at Beaufort Arms – not very good. Have ⟨a⟩ difficulty [*p. [17]*] in finding the ruins of Monmouth Castle – where Henry V was born – very few vestiges are left consisting principally of part of the tower where he was born & an adjoining hall –

Monday, August 7

Leave Monmouth about 10 oclock – after ⟨some time⟩ passing thro a beautiful fertile valley for some miles – road ascends a high hill or rather mountain from whence we have an extensive view of the valley with the windings of the Wye – not unlike the Scenery of the Mohawk River. – The distance to Ross is 14 miles. The valley in which it stands less beautiful than that of Monmouth – We are now in Herefordshire. The Hills not so high or picturesque as those of Monmouthshire. ⟨Castle of the⟩ Wilton castle[18] opposite to Ross – now in ruins – but the ruins picturesque – of Brown freestone like Newark Stone – Ross an indifferent place but pleasantly situated – the [*p. [18]*] Wye running close by it. Saw the walk of the famous Man of Ross[19] –

Hence to Hereford – Dine at City Arms an excellent Hotel – but as the house was full were obliged to dine in Coffee Room. Large church – with fine Gothic tower. Curious fretwork to the angles of the Tower.

From Hereford to Leominster – A very old town – Houses of the old style – Wood & plaister – curious wooden Market House with grotesque figures carved in oak.

Post from hence to Ludlow – where we arrive after dark & put up at Angel in[n] – very good –

Tuesday morning, August 8

Castle of Ludlow a noble ruin[20] – ⟨res⟩ commands fine views of the

18. Irving made a sketch of this castle.

19. John Kyrle (1637–1724), the "Man of Ross," immortalized in Pope's *Moral Essays*, epistle 3, was an eminent philanthropist.

20. Irving seemed unaware that Milton wrote his masque, *Comus*, for performance in this eleventh-century castle and that it was performed in 1634 in the great Banqueting Hall still shown.

neighbouring country – The situation of the castle & town on an eminence in the midst of a beautiful valley – the Teme flows close under the castle.

[*p. [19]*]

Left Ludlow about 11 Oclock – Wretchd post Horses. Players had engaged all the good Horses to take them to Worcester – change Horses about 7½ miles & then have a very pleasant ride to church Stretton ⟨church⟩. The ride for some miles is thro a narrow romantic valley with high Hills or rather mountains – Some quite naked – In the vicinity of church is Caer Caradoc where Caractacus made a stand.[21]

Hence to Shrewsbury – the country more open – Hills less.

In the evening ramble about Shrewsbury Castle Courts & towers. At present fitted up as a modern mansion.

[*p. [20]*]

Wednesday, August 9

from Shrewsbury to Ellsmere[22] 16 miles through beautiful scenery. Ellsmere lake a very common place sheet of water – fine View from the Bowling green on a knoll where formerly the Castle stood. Beauty of Ellsmere – in cream colourd house opposite the principal Street by which you enter – a lovely girl about 18 –

The ride from hence to Wrexham is very fine. Dine at Wrexham where we were waited on by Landladys Daughter a very pretty girl – Wrexham Church & town remarkably fine.

Hence to Llangollen a most picturesque ride – ⟨pass⟩ stop at the Iron Aqueduct ⟨wh⟩ to examine that stupendous work – 1000 feet long. Stone piers 125 feet[23] Langollen[.] put up at the – *hand* a very good Inn.[24] Stroll to the grounds of Lady Ellenor Butler.[25] Lady Slack Jacket in her flimsy muslin pelisse. Arrived in [*p. [21]*] coach & hoverd about the

21. Near the village of Church Stretton, Caer ("Camp") Caradoc is the traditional scene of the defeat of Caractacus (Latinized form of English Caradoc), a British chieftain, son of Cymbeline, who fought for nine years against the Roman invasion in the middle of the first century. Thomas Gray's poem "Caradoc" was published posthumously in the notes at the end of W. Mason's edition of *The Poems of Mr. Gray* . . . (York, 1775).

22. Ellesmere, situated on a small lake of the same name, is a pleasant excursion point between Shrewsbury and Wrexham.

23. This imposing aqueduct of Pont-y-Cysylete was built by Thomas Telford (1757–1834) for the Ellesmere canal.

24. The 1887 edition of Baedeker's *Great Britain* still lists the Hand Hotel as "an old and comfortable house" and mentions a "harper in the hall," as Irving noted at the end of entry.

25. Lady Eleanor Butler and the Honorable Sarah Ponsonby, two Irish eccentrics, lived at Plâs Newydd, which their faithful servant, Mary Carryl, had bought for

door of Lady Butler. Returnd bootless to the Inn. Old Harper played while we supped – Trout & grayling –

Thursday, August 10

Walk before breakfast to Crucis Abby 2 Miles & return by 8 oclock.[26] Old Lady Slack Jacket sponging for a breakfast. Owen Glendower[27] owned this vally & adjacent country

NB Breakfast at Langollen where we had a fine grayling only 2/ each. Pd. Harper 2/6 –

From Llangollen the road wound up a hill for some distance – commanding a fine view of the valley & Vale Crucis with the abbey to the right. ⟨After some time the country scene wild & savage. Then we get into a valley among the heights of the mountains bare of trees & moory. arrive at Corwen⟩ On the road pass on the right the place where Owen Glendowrs Castle stood.

Change Postchaise at Corwen a small [*p. [22]*] village in rear of which is a rocky height called Owen Glendowers Seat –

From Corwen to Carneyoge[28] on which ride we get among the mountains where the valley is destitute of trees, & marshy. Postillion drives furiously. His half starved horses seem possessed of true Welsh spirit. Harper playing at Carnayoge. An Inn almost solitary –

From Hence to Llanrwst a wild & almost savage country – Precipices & rocks. The Scenery at Llanrwst in the highest degree picturesque – Bridge by Inigo Jones.[29] Market or rather Fair day & the wretched little town of Llanrwst crowded with country people – harsh features – leave there & find the road full of peasantry whose horses prance & play the devil as we drive past them. After a most romantic ride arrive in evening at Conway. & put up at Harp –

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them. Called the "Ladies of Llangollen," they lived there over fifty years and received many prominent visitors. For a documented account of their lives see Elizabeth Mavor, *The Ladies of Llangollen: A Study in Romantic Friendship* (London, 1971). Irving visited Llangollen again in 1817 with William C. Preston, who gives a detailed account of their visit. See *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston*, ed. Minnie C. Yarborough (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933), pp. 39–41.

26. Valle Crucis Abbey, founded in 1200, is the most important monastic ruin in North Wales.

27. Owen Glendower (1359?–1416?), the Welsh national leader, headed the revolt against English rule and allied himself with the Percys against Henry IV.

28. Cernioge Mawr is about eleven miles from Llanrwst. About forty years later George Borrow in *Wild Wales* described Cernioge Mawr as a large stone house formerly a coaching inn, pleasantly situated but remote from other houses, beside the road between Corwen and Llanrwst.

29. Inigo Jones (1573–1652), the earliest of England's great architects, began the classical style of the late Renaissance and Georgian periods of English architecture.

[*p. [23]*]

Conway Castle. Immense strength – a ⟨beaut⟩ Sublime ruin[30] – the tide being low we were enabled to stroll on the beach below it. Owls & bats alarmed by our intrusion & fluttering about the towers. The walls are many feet thick. One of the towers, having been undermined by the people digging for slate – has given way & large masses of it have tumbled to the shore. The rest hangs threatning from above. The huge masses on the shore shew the prodigious thickness of the walls.

The Scenery in North Wales is not so luxuriantly beautiful as the Scenes in Monmouthshire but much more grand & sublime – mountains rocky, huge & precipitous. The valleys are however rich & fertile –

[*p. 24 blank; followed by two leaves torn out*]

[*p. [25]*]

Friday, August 11

Leave Conway 11 oclock. after rising a road winding up a mountain descend ⟨into⟩ a deep valley in sight of Penmanmawr[31] – Then wind round the foot of that mountain – road cut along its profile like a shelf. steep precipices above & below – with sheep feeding – (View of Anglesea[32] – Atlantic Sea & Bangor Sea ⟨a scene⟩) After leaving Penmanmawr Road lays through a beautiful country along the shore – Stop at *Aber*, a small village *among* beautiful & romantic valley. See the Miod (or Mood) whereon stood the Castle of Llewelyn ap Gryffield.[33] Interesting story of him & William De Braose (De Bruce) & Llewellyns wife, Joan Plantagenet daughter of King John – Saw the place where De Bruce was hanged – From hence along a wild & picturesque Coast to Bangor – a finely situatd little city (more like a village.) Walk [*p. [26]*] in a fine public promenade thro the Bishops Grounds – Dine at Bangor in

30. Conway Castle strikingly placed high on a rock above the river, is "perhaps the most beautiful ruin in Wales," according to Baedeker. Irving describes it in "The Author," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 12).

31. Penmaenmawr is a pleasant little marine resort at the foot of the mountain of the same name. Irving used this Welsh place name and others in "Falconry," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 138).

32. The island of Anglesey, or Anglesea, is off the west coast of Wales, opposite Carnarvon.

33. Llewelyn ap Gruffydd (d. 1282), prince of Wales, refused homage to Edward I and led two unsuccessful rebellions. Irving confused him with his grandfather, Llewelyn ap Iorwerth (1173–1240), who married King John's illegitimate daughter in 1206.

company with the master of Rugby School[34] & a wild Cornish miner who happend to be at the Hotel

Cornish mans question to Servant Girl – "have you never a garden here" – (alluding to the scantiness of vegetables on the table) Thinks we should find the mines in Anglesea very picturestick – On paying the Bill ↑17/4↓ Schoolmaster calculates four times 4 is 16 & four sixpence 18. But to his dismay cornish man says 5/ apiece – this will leave something for the waiter – Cornish man takes our chaise back & treats an old man to a ride by way of company.

Rugby thinks he must be rich because he's so independent – the secret is I suspect, from his talk he is on the expenses of others going to ⟨lock⟩ arrest some person at Conway –

[*p. [27]*]
stopped at Bangor at the Mitre but were not much pleased –

From Hence to Carnavon[35] nothing remarkable. Arrived before sunset & visited the old castle – very extensive but by no means so sublime & picturesque as Conway – Put up at Hotel – a large building but poor attendance – all women – House crowded because last of the assises – & so much taken up with a large dinner party that we could scarcely be attended to.

Saturday, August 12

No postchaise to be had in Carnarvon [–] all engaged taking home people from the assizes – Procure a Gig at the Goat Inn. A boy to precede us on foot & bring the Gig back – Fare of the Gig ½ a Guinea – The lad who was to bring the gig back a complete picture. Humpd backd & distorted in body – short legged – knocked ⟨knees⟩ kneed. Small grey eyes sunk in his head & crossing each other at right angles.

[*p. [28]*]

I could scarcely believe that this apparently crippled being could walk the distance but on asking him he returned the usual Welsh answer – "Yes sure –" observing that we had a rough mountainous road which he could travel as fast as the horses. I afterwards was haild in the street & on looking round saw our avant courier [–] he had been home – arrayed himself in best blue coat with the skirts to his heels – a pair of blue & white *clouded* cotton stocking & with high shoes was shambling off on his expedition as lively as a true Taffy.[36]

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34. The headmaster at this time was the Reverend John Wooll (1767–1833).

35. Carnarvon, also written Caernarvon, port with famous thirteenth-century castle, opposite Anglesey. This castle is the scene of the investiture of the prince of Wales.

36. Nickname for a Welshman.

Welsh woman costume white cap frilled round ↑ye↓ face. Colourd silk handkf over it – tied under chin with corner hanging on shoulders [–] black mans hat over all – & a long blue cloth cloak with hood of same.

[*p. [29]*]
Dirty gentleman in market place Carnarvon with old greasy hat furbished up & twitched on one side – immense dirty neck cloth – Threadbare black coat – clouded stockinet pantaloons – & blk gaiters – with sprightly consequential look – pricing vegetables of market women to make his dinner of –

Market day at Carnarvon – the peasantry flock in from all quarters with cattle & hogs. the latter are ⟨driven in⟩ harnessed in a kind of *leading* strings,[37] tho some will neither be led nor driven & several whimsical scenes occur where a whole family [–] men women & children [–] are engaged coaxing & banging some refractory hog that will go any way but forward – Now & then a hog broke loose with a fiery little Welshman pursuing him threw the whole market in a hubbub.

[*p. [30]*]
About 11 oclock the Gig was brought to the door & our baggage piled in & tied with ropes. Our steed was a stout venerable cart horse – Off we set in solemn state accompanied by two or three tatterdemallions[38] to set the animal going – but there was no getting him off a laborious walk as tho he had the loaded cart at his heels. Having flogged him half thro the little town of Caernarvon we relinquished the attempt to get to Caernarvon this way and ordered the ⟨chais⟩ Gig back to the Hotel.

After dinner we were at length furnished with a post chaise & set off for Beddgellert. The road lay up among the mountains, which are here bare, sterile & savage but highly grand & imposing – after a few miles we come to a little valley among the mountains with a small but silver lake in it. Snowdon on the left[39] his summit wrappd in clouds – on the [p. *[31]*] right is the mountain called Castel Cidwm with the rocky cliff overhanging the lake on which the castle stood that anciently defended this pass. This lake is called Llyn Cywellyn.[40] After riding some miles thro the wildest & most romantic Scenery arrive at Beddgellert. A small village consisting of a few scattered houses situated in a beautiful green meadow surrounded by vast rocky mountains ⟨thro which⟩ ↑where↓

37. Irving included sketch of a Welsh family with its pigs in harness.

38. Ragged fellows, ragamuffins.

39. Snowdon (3571 ft.), consisting of five peaks, is the highest mountain in England and Wales and is admired for the grandeur of its form.

40. Snowdon Ranger Station, halfway up on the north side of Llyn Cwellyn, is a starting point for one ascent of Snowdon.

the ⟨water of⟩ ↑little↓ rivers Glaslyn & Colwyn mingle & pour their pure waters[41] – This place is called Beeddgellen or Bethkellert[42] (I E the tomb of the grey hound) from the story of Lleyeyllyn[?] & his favourite dog Cilian[43] which he killed in passion & error & buried here where since a church has been erected. The new Inn is a very neat & even handsome establishment but was crowded with company so that we could not gain admittance. Old harper playing in the hall of the Inn – At the Old Inn we applied – House had a most unpromising appearance but we were very comfortably accommodated with two bed rooms & sitting room. [*p. [32]*] oak ⟨charis⟩ ↑chairs↓ & tables well polished – Had fine trout for supper and fared extremely well –

Sunday, August 13

Leave Beddgellert at ½ past nine for Capel Cerug.[44] Road lays thro valleys destitute of trees & surrounded by high mountains – Snowdon on left – lakes. Pass thro valley where Vortigern retired[45] – and w[h]ere Madoc resided previous to his sailing for America.[46] Goats on precipices – loud shouts echoing from opposite mountain. Arrive at Capel Careg where is a fine hotel – beautiful little lake & noble prospect of Snowdon – the Hotel is built of Slate – sides & roof & commands a fine view up & down the Valley. From hence ride thro a continuation of wild mountain scenery until we come out upon the valley of the Conway and [*p. [33]*] arrive at Llanrwst. Visit the old church here w[h]ere are several curious brass plates ↑finely↓ engraved with likenesses & monumental inscriptions of the Wynne family[47] – also ceiling & gallery of oak finely carved from

41. Beddgelert is situated at the junction of the Colwyn and Glaslyn rivers.

42. Beddgelert means "grave of Gelert," commemorating the legend of Llewelyn's hound, killed by his master in the erroneous belief that it had killed his child, when actually it had protected the infant against a wolf.

43. The name of the dog is usually given as Gelert.

44. Capel Curig, a small village on a lake of the same name, is situated in some of the finest scenery of North Wales.

45. Vortigern was a fifth-century tribal king of the Britons in Wales and southern England who is believed to have invited the Jutish forces to Britain to repel the Picts and Scots.

46. Madoc, or Madog, ap Owen Gwynedd (fl. ca. 1170), legendary Welsh prince who was said to have discovered America three hundred years before Columbus. He is the hero of Southey's poem *Madoc*.

47. Sir John Wynn (1553–1626), first baronet of Gwydir and thirteenth in direct lineal descent from Owen Gwynedd, son of Gruffydd ap Cynan, the founder of the chief royal tribe of Wales, gave the fullest account of his ancestry in his *History of the Gwedir Family*, ed. Daines Berrington (London, 1770). The Williams-Wynns of Wynnstay now represent this ancient family. The church dates from the fifteenth century and contains the burial chapel built by Inigo Jones in 1633 and the stone coffin of Llewelyn the Great (d. 1240).

the old abbey at Conway – But most interesting curiosity is the Stone Coffin of the Great Llewellyn,[48] from Aber Conway –

From hence have a tedious & uninteresting ride up the mountainous road to Cernogy[49] ⟨Dine there⟩ On the way meet Mr Townsend[50] & his Brother making a picturesque tour on foot – Dine at Cernioge & not being able to procure beds there [–] the house being filled with Shooting parties (Grouse season) we take chaise for Ruthin. Road for some time thro desolate country – *blasted* heath on top of the [*p. [34]*] mountains. cloud lowering round us. Afterwards Rapid decents, where post boy drives furiously, being anxious to get in before dark. The twilight prevents our having anything more than dim views of rich valleys & ⟨gulphs⟩ embowered gulphs into which we seem to be hurried down. Thus whirled along one moment, & dosing with fatigue & exhaustion the next – we are ⟨hurr⟩ rattled after dark into Ruthin.

Monday, August 14

⟨after⟩ visit⟨ing⟩ the ruins of Ruthin Castle, which are very scanty. Built of Brown free stone – one of the Courts turned into a bowling green – This was the Residence of Ruthin ⟨Owen Glend⟩ the Lord of Ruthin[51] who was the antagonist of Owen Glendower & whose law suit first occasiond Glendowers [*p. [35]*] opposition to the Crown. Glendower took him prisoner & compelld him to marry his daughter. Hotel at Ruthin the White Lion – so so.

The ride from hence to Denbigh is through a rich broad & beautiful valley – The upper part particularly so – where the surrounding mountains are uncommonly fine in their outlines & tinted with the blossoms of furze – heath &c.[52]

Denbigh has a picturesque situation on the side of a hill. The castle is in utter ruin – but the gate way I think one of the most beautiful

48. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, called Llewelyn the Great, prince of North Wales (see note 33, above). Conway is also called Aberconway ("mouth of the Conway").

49. Cernioge Mawr; see note 28, above.

50. Possibly the much traveled Mr. Townshend mentioned in Irving's letter to his brother Peter, dated August 27, 1817. See *Letters*, I, 492.

51. Reginald de Grey, third Baron Grey of Ruthin (1362?–1440) won a famous lawsuit from Edward Hastings for the right to bear Hastings arms and the title of earl of Pembroke. Grey carried on war against Owen Glendower during the course of which Glendower, in 1402, captured him and Sir Edmund Mortimer. Lord Grey was released on the payment of a heavy fine; Mortimer was released after marrying Glendower's daughter.

52. Furze, also called gorse, is a spiny yellow-flowered evergreen shrub growing on waste lands, often found growing beside the common heath or heather.

peices of ruin I have ever seen[53] – ⟨the massing & deta⟩ The parts are rich & the *tinting* exquisite. From hence we crossed the ⟨Clw⟩ Vale of Clwyd & passed thro a succession of small beautiful vallys until we came ⟨out on the rich⟩ [*p. [36]*] to the village of Mold – where stood a castle which formerly withstood a siege which the Welsh Bards extol as equal to the siege of Troy.[54]

After leaving this ⟨we come⟩ we rode for some miles & came out on the rich plains of Cheshire & about 5 oclock arrived at Chester.

[*Four leaves torn out; then four blank leaves; then half a leaf torn out; then follow many pencil sketches of scenes & views mostly unlabeled, some very poor, as follows:*]

Beddgelert from my Chamber window
two poor sketches
Another of Church – labeled Beddgellert
scene with sailboats
two poor sketches
Conway Castle
two poor sketches
Cruces
Castle Dinas Bran
Ludlow Castle
one poor sketch
Wilton Castle – Ross [*ink sketch*]
Tintern Abbey [*not too clear*]
Figure of man
Tintern Church yd.
scene near Tintern [*vague*]
one poor sketch
Interior of Chepstow Castle [*ink and pencil*]
three of Chepstow [*one good*]
Good sketch labeled Steinwick Painswick

If one then eats ye meat drain[ye?] glass
What's needs then two I pray to sp[or]t[?]wt the lass
The realism be as plain wings
Step is Genttl ——— heigh[55]

53. The ruined castle, dating from the reign of Edward I, has been partly restored. It was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Dudley, earl of Leicester, in 1563, and he entertained her here with great magnificence.

54. Reference to the capture of the English border fortress in 1199 by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth or possibly to the "Allelulia Victory" of the native Christians under St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, over the heathen Picts and Scots in 430.

55. These almost illegible four lines are written upside down on the last page of the notebook.

NOTES 1815–1821[1]

This collection of Irving manuscripts, mounted in a large red leather album 12 × 9¾ inches, belongs to Irving B. Kingsford, Jr., of Princeton, New Jersey. It begins with 117 pages, numbered by one of the early owners, dealing with Abbotsford and Irving's visit. After the manuscript, written in pencil and ink, transcribed here, consisting of various sized sheets, some folded and all pasted into this album, there is one page from the *Life of Columbus* manuscript, followed by 4 pages of the *Astoria* and 11 pages of the *Bonneville* manuscripts.

– Oxford – by moonlight – Magdalen college – beautiful, broken light playing among trees & on old building[2] –

Names –
Dry a taylor
Buckland
Bliss

Moist showry day
Slovenly clouds – drifting about like dish clouts – wring out – Shower washing day – clouds hung out to dry

---

New college garden [–] mountain ash pile of berries –
(In spring Liburnum – lilac &c)
birds of diff kinds – thrushes – ring dove

1. The cover of the album bears the stamped inscription: "Manuscripts/ of/ Washington Irving./ E. G. B." On the flyleaf is written: "Compiled by Julia Irving Grinnell Bowdoin/ great-niece of Washington Irving/

Given to me, her grandson,/ Irving Bowdoin Kingsford/ by my Aunt/ Edith Grinnell Bowdoin/

To Irving B. Kingsford Jr./ from his father/ May 27th 1951." He generously permitted them to be copied for inclusion in this edition.

2. Irving repeats some details of this visit to Oxford with Leslie in 1821 on p. 57. Other notes about the fashionable bookseller and the visit to Stratford, utilized in *The Sketch Book*, obviously were written much earlier. See footnotes to those items. This part of the manuscript, up to the section labeled "Winchester," is written in pencil.

Leamed[3] rooks cawing about towers pervading sound of bells all over Oxford
People that live about Oxford & never grow wiser – ⟨ne⟩ Learning is not catching –

Walks about gardens ⟨were⟩ where people never walk – seats where they never get – Fellows are not rural

---

elaborate care with which the gravel walks are rolled – grass shorn – &c –
Square at Oxford
Under graceful trees –
Crows & ⟨choughs⟩ Rooks – frugilegus[4]
⟨spirit⟩ souls of old tutors & professor

Author at Oxf. discharges tutor & keeps horse[5]

Window & end of house overrun with ivy – Window with red curtain – flowers at the window

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Sunday – the whole place mellow with sound of bells. Students walking abt. cloysters – Kitchen of Magdalen College – Crusty ⟨of⟩ old Butler pot belly – yellow wig, hanging lip
old pannelled hall
smell of oak & cedar

Meagre fellow in blk. long flowing coat. Short trousers – thin red face, large nose – ⟨plays so⟩ Hanger on of theatre – plays sometimes a Bishop a Cardinal – a Latin grave & reverend senator of vince[?] Surprize him with a beefsteak & tankard

⟨I looked⟩
I of course thought of the most fashionable bookseller – every author makes for the fashionable bookseller. I applied at his door, & was shown

3. Obsolete form "leam," glitter, flash. Perhaps Irving refers to the shiny feathers.
4. The rook is *Corvus frugilegus*.
5. Irving gives a detailed account of this episode on p. 183.

into a kind of lease[?] house I askd for Mr M— My tone was ⟨hi⟩ lofty & peremptory. ⟨the⟩ they supposed me some library Carmudgn & shewed me up stair[s]. I found the Room had as a fine drawing rm surround[e]d [?] by books & paintings – Writing letter on a table. I advanced to him & offerd my work with an air to put him at once at his ease I asked 1000 Gs. he looked at me from head to foot & continued writing his letter. I waitd for some time, but finding no reply I walked indignantly downstairs.

publishes book & ruins himself[6] –

⟨old genl⟩
Gypsey says Ill tell this old gentmns. fortune
old gent turns off
Morality of the Coach Guard – a man on the top was talking of the harvest. Ill warrant there be many a load of barley carried between this & 12 oclock. Aye said the guard if it was me I'd work all night – yes said the other & if the weather kept fine Id work all Sunday – Nay – nay said the guard that I never could do – work as much of a week as one can – but dont encroach on Gd almightys ⟨day⟩ time – ⟨That⟩ Ive harvestd often but that Id never do –

But youd work about your coach on Sunday – lots time – well is not that working on Gd-amighty time Nay. nay – sad faced – thats quite another thing[7]

Here intomed lyeth the Lady Joyce Lucy wife of Sr. Thomas Lucy of Charlcot in ye County of Warwick Knight Daughter & heir of ⟨Sr⟩ Thomas Acton of Sutton in ye County of Worcester Esquire who departed out of this wretched world to her heavenly Kingdom ye 10 day of February in ye yeare of our Lord God 1595 and of her age 60 and three – over[8] –

6. The passage "I . . . himself" is a rough outline of what Irving developed into sections of "The Poor-Devil Author" of "Buckthorne and His Friends," finally used in *Tales of a Traveller*. The most fashionable bookseller, John Murray, who became Irving's publisher after first refusing *The Sketch Book*, was probably in his mind. Certain phrases that occur in the printed text help to establish these transcriptions. See *Works*, XXI, 163–67.

7. The passage "Morality . . . thing" is upside down on page.

8. At top of page in another hand: "The Sketch Book. Stratford on Avon page 344—" This identification or location and others of Irving's notations, used exactly in his "Stratford-on-Avon," were probably compared and identified by his great-niece, Julia Irving Grinnell Bowdoin, the first recorded owner of these manuscripts. Her pagination agrees with Putnam's "New Edition, Revised" (New York, 1853). See *Works*, XIX, 383, n. Sir Thomas Lucy (1532–1600) is best known for the traditional story of Shakespeare's poaching in Charlecote Park.

⟨Septr⟩ Saturday Sept [*blank*] 1821. left London in company with Leslie – ⟨on top⟩ at ½ past 3. on top of coach – for Oxford ⟨ther⟩ – arrive at Henly about ½ past 7. go on to Oxford by moonlight[9]

⟨Most rare & wis⟩
All the time of her lyfe a true and faythfull servant of her good god. Never detected of any cryme or vice. In religion moste sounde in love to her husband most faythful & true. In Friendship most constant to what in trust was committed ⟨to her⟩ unto her moste secret. In wisdome excelling. In governing of her house bringing up of youth in ye fear of God that did convers with her moste rare & singular. a great maintayner of Hospitality Greatly esteemed of her betters Misliked of none unless of the envyous. When all is spoken that can be saide a woman so garnished wth vertue as not to be bettered & hardly to be equalled by any As shee lived moste virtuously so shee died most godly. Set downe by him yt best did knowe what hath byn written to be true

Thomas Lucye[10]

Good frend for Jesus sake forbeare,
To digg the dust enclosed heare.
Blese be ye man yt spares thes stones,
And curst be he yt moves my bones.

Shakespeare[11]

27 Edwd H[12]

9. This entry, which is upside down and is a later interpolation, refers to Irving's second excursion to Oxford and Stratford-on-Avon, in company with Leslie. They left London on September 8, 1821. On the next day, a wet Sunday at Oxford, occurred the incident that gave rise to "The Stout Gentleman," published in *Bracebridge Hall*. Irving's entry in the Church Albums in the library at Shakespeare's birthplace dates his second visit to Stratford, September 10, 1821. Obviously the preceding and following notes utilized for his essay "Stratford-on-Avon" in *The Sketch Book* must have been made on his visit of July 25, 1815, recorded in the Church Albums. A lengthy but humorous account of this three day excursion with James Renwick can be found in Irving's letter to Mrs. Jean Renwick, dated Birmingham, July 27, 1815. See *Letters*, I, 403–12. For details of the excursion in September, 1821, see *Autobiographical Recollections: By the late Charles Robert Leslie*, ed. Tom Taylor (Boston, 1860), pp. 43–44.

10. This passage continues the inscription on the tomb of the wife of Sir Thomas Lucy, identified in n. 8 above.

11. Inscription on the flat stone that marks Shakespeare's grave at Stratford, recorded by Irving and cited in his essay. See *Works*, XIX, 369.

12. Written upside down at bottom of page.

Interior of the house altered – Great Hall as it was anciently[13] – Picture of Sir Thos Lucy – ruff – white shoes with great roses – daughters with long waists & stiff dresses – Hawk – hounds spaniels – child with bough.[14]

On on[e] side childrens pictures on the opposite their pictures when full growne. Great ⟨bough⟩ bow windows with Lucy arms – family portraits of the Lucys – Oaken staircase pictures – butler invites to refresh ourselves –

Return by footpath ⟨across the⟩ thro' the park. postboy with letter bags.

The Bow window in the halls has Coats of arms with the date 1558. Great fire place ⟨where their⟩ which is calculated for wood fire. Organ loft to the hall.[15]

In the hall portrait of a beautiful lady by Sir Peter Lely[16] – who lost great part of the family estate at cards. she had a fine hand & arm –

Sir T Lucys portrait. pointed foxy beard.[17]

Avon winds in the most wandering way thro a wider soft valley – it is bordered with willows – – winds in Silver links[18]

In [*blank*] is an old house formerly in possession of ⟨the⟩ [*blank*] Lukes with whom Butler at one time lived – there is ⟨an⟩ a room still shewn with a secret chamber over it to which a stair case in the wainscot led, where Butler could conceal himself. The last descendant of the Lukes still lived in the family that occupied the house until a short time since when he died. He wore a dress something like that in which hogarth has painted and bore [?] a large slouched hat – long wastcoat with flaps & great boots that curve above his knees & rolled over.[19]

Shakspears magnifying hour
Shakspears Bedstead

13. Expanded with descriptive details in *Works*, XIX, 380.

14. *Ibid.*, XIX, 383.

15. Jottings utilized and expanded in *ibid.*, XIX, 380–81.

16. Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), born Pieter van der Faes, settled in England in 1640 and succeeded Van Dyck as the most distinguished portrait painter. Irving probably saw a portrait of one of the sixty-five beauties of the court of Charles II painted by Lely.

17. *Works*, XIX, 382–83.

18. Altered and expanded in *ibid.*, XIX, 376.

19. The entire passage appears to be an interpolation that interrupts the notes made in Stratford. Samuel Butler (1612–1680), the author of *Hudibras*, served a noted Puritan and officer of Cromwell, Sir Samuel Luke, at Cople Hoo, Bedfordshire and used him as a model in his verse satire.

Shakespears picture taken whn
under the crabtree
– Old lady Flaxen hair under a cap – *not* washt [?]
Shakspears tobacco box
Iron pipe – maid sold it
Chutney [?] bowl.
Courting chair

[*WI's drawing of the chair*]

Matchlock that Shakespear shot the deer – Card & Dice Box – prince of Castile made a present to Shakespr
David & Goliah
Chairs given by Lord of Southampton little chair he had for his son ⟨hanlet⟩ – Hamnett
His wifes shoe –
Iron chest of Shakspears
Lanthorn ↑of painted glass↓ made by a relative of Shakspeare from his study windo[w] – Old lady made battle of waterloo is writing another play calls her child Shakespeare to send for her play
Long sword Shakespears Toledo part of the crab tree under which Shakspeare slept whn he was amng the topers [?]
⟨Walls⟩ Cieling low – oaken floor walls scrawled over

Down stairs the ingle nook in which S. sat[20]

Old sexton laments the coloring of the church thinks they shd hav colourd the outside

---

Porch to the church fine gothic large oaken carved oaken doors[21]

Geared[?]	20/
Coach	2/
Shakespears hse	2/
play	2/
sexton	2/6
mulberry	2/
Housekeeper	1/6

20. Only a few of these details and mementos found their way into Irving's essay. See *Works*, XIX, 363.

21. The gray-headed sexton, Edmonds, and the Gothic porch found their way into the essay. See *ibid.*, XIX, 365–68.

butler	6/
Bill & wa[?]	2/6
—	—
1 • 12	

20
2
2
2
2 6
2
6
6
2.6
39.6[22]

Church yard – ⟨Tom⟩ Avon runs at N foot with willows projecting from the bank & hanging into it

Rooks sailing round the steeple birds bustling & flying into nooks & crevices Church green with moss – grave stones coverd with moss some gray[23]

I am always of easy faith in such matters I have always an easy belief in these matters and am willing to be decieved, where the deceit produces pleasure & costs nothing – but this was too much even for my credulity. The good lady boastd aff[i]n[i]t[y] to Shakspear & had written several plays and poems; which I cm to fnd had no passing resemblance I pronounced her of a spurious start [?][24] It was curious to see the crowds of all nations that had scrawled their names on the walls – hoping to be helped along one step at least towards immortality[25] –

From the Birth place of Shakespeare I made a transfer to the grave. He lies buried in the ⟨choir of the⟩ chantry of the church, and never had poet a more enviable grave. Thus to come back and lay his dust at the place of his nativity – To be treasurd up in his native town & to be the theme & pride of his townsmen and then such a place of sepulture. The church is one of the most beautiful old county churches in England and its situation is almost unrivalled. It stands on the banks of the Avon.

22. Irving's list and addition of expenses and gratuities at Stratford.
23. Phrases that appear in altered form in *Works*, XIX, 365.
24. *Ibid.*, XIX, 364–65.
25. *Ibid.*, XIX, 363.

The river runs dimpling along ⟨by⟩ at the end of the church yard and the elms which stand at the bottom of the burying ground droop their branches into the water – ⟨The ch⟩ An avenue of limes whose branches are curiously interwoven so as to form an arch lead up to the church. The yard is green, the very tomb stones are half covered with moss – small birds were fluttering & chirping about every fissure of the old walls and rooks were sailing and cawing about the spire.

⟨An old sexton ↑The parish clerk & sext↓ shewed in the church a venerable old man of large frame, ruddy face[?] & outer[?] hue, but almost a cripple.⟩ ⟨He⟩ I found the old sexton Edmonds in a neat little cottage that fronted upon the Avon. It was a picture of that neatness & comfort which pervade humble life in this country – A low white-washd room: a dresser with rows of pewter dishes bright & glittering – the floor paved & clean. In one corner of the fireplace sat a pretty young girl sewg, probably his daughter – Before the fire sat an old crony, bowed down by age – who I found was a early companion of the sextons – the old men were full of ⟨answ⟩ talk concerning Shakspeare. They had assisted at preparing for the Jubilee – being both house carpenters they reccollected Garrick – a "short punch man the old sexton said" – The other whose name was John Ange had assisted at cutting down the mulberry tree – & he & his father had taken it away – he had a small piece of it in his pocket which he offered to my companion with many solemn asseverations of its being genuine. They both denounced the good woman at the Shakspear house as being fallacious & the old sexton even questiond the authenticity of the house condemg it an unworthy rival to the tomb. To him it is that two of a track[?] cannot agree[26] Having seen the tomb & birth place, I felt a desire to visit the Park of Sir [Th] Lucy where Shakespeare is said to have ⟨been⟩ committd his ⟨yout⟩ Stripling prank of deer stealing to which he was oblgd to abandon the country – Whether it was true or fiction is not to be ascertained. Certain it is the estate has been in the same family ever since Shakspeares time – the same house stands there and it is more than probable that he took his character of Justice Shalow from the then Sr Thos Lucy. as the arms of the Shallow fam[il]y are the same with Th Lucys & it is obvious Shakspeare must have drawn his characters from life about him

It at any rate was desireable to see a old family mansion of the rign of Q Elzabet in fine preservation & certainly one which Shakspear in his boyhood must often have rambled about[27] –

The day was soft and balmy – The buds which had been retarded, by

26. Most of these jottings were used by Irving in *ibid.*, XIX, 365–68.
27. Used by Irving in *ibid.*, XIX, 371–72.

lingering frosts were beginning to put forth – the snow drop the [*blank*] & other firstlings of the spring were seen under Lucy's Park Vast oak avenues deer fawns – rooks cawing – wind sounding among the branches – larks soaring up into the heaven[28]

The majestic solemnity of these great ⟨oaken⟩ ↑elm↓ avenues – with the wind sounding among the branches & the rooks sailing & cawing above the tree tops – The deer silently feeding & gazing fearlessly at the passenger – distant statue seen thro the avenues – deer scatterd about –

Avenues – proud – duration – no building up an avenue of trees – bespak old family

Avenues of trees give one an idea of the duration of a family

House of Brick – 4 towers – gilt balls with cocks – outhouses extensive –

⟨ft[?]⟩ herds of deer reposing on the lawns – Inner gate – a kind of Barbican

[*Sketch of house*]

gate way Iron bars
kind of court within
smooth rolled lane
old house with bow windows[29]

[*Sketch of mansion*]

WINCHESTER[30]

It was a beautiful sunny afternoon as we rode into Winchester, and the old ⟨abbey⟩ ↑cathedral↓ had a fine yellow light resting upon it – ⟨As I love⟩

⟨I have an inexhaustable delight in ⟨visiting⟩ prowling about old gothic buildings, which I receive from no other in an equal degree. The feelings which they awaken are peculiar ⟨and beyond my power to describe⟩ ↑and↓; ⟨it⟩ cannot arise from their antiquity merely, for I have visited ruins ↑in Italy & Sicily↓ much more ancient; but I believe it is from the romantic associations ⟨with them awake⟩ connected with them. They belong to times ⟨which in⟩ which our poetry ⟨has and romances have⟩

28. Only a few phrases were actually used in *ibid.*, XIX, 374–75.

29. These jottings were expanded by Irving in *ibid.*, XIX, 377–79. The barbican is the outer defensive work of a castle, especially the tower or towers at a gate or bridge.

30. Irving and his brother Peter left London for Paris, August 17, 1820, stopping en route at Winchester and Southampton. This account of Winchester expands the more laconic entries in Irving's journal, dated August 17 and 18, 1820. See pp. 302–06. Beginning here the manuscript is written in ink.

and fiction have made a region of romance. Castles, Convents, Abbeys summon up to our imagination all the images, the personages & pagentry of days of chivalry and times of ⟨fable &⟩ fairy fable.

I had ⟨an old⟩ formed an acquaintance with an old gentleman in the coach who was a native of Winchester, and who accompanied ⟨me to the Abbey. It is ↑The Cathedral⟩[31] It is↓ a noble pile, situated in a close, with fine lime trees overshadowing the mouldering ⟨square⟩ graves of many generations. As we ↑I↓ entered the main aisle we ↑I↓[32] heard the distant sound of the organ swelling through the building, and found they were performing the evening service. ⟨It was surprizing that such noble buildings⟩ Nothing seems more surprizing to one brought up like myself in a country where we have none of this solemn pomp of Architecture, than to enter such magnificent buildings, and find so sublime a combination of music & architecture & almost totally neglected. One would think that a cathedral would be a constant resort, if not for purposes of devotion at least for the gratification of taste & the ⟨indulgence⟩ ↑excitement↓ of imagination but in general I find them solitary & deserted. The service attended merely by some half score of superannuated spinsters and ⟨gossipping⟩ ↑rheumatic↓ dowagers, who ⟨concert their evenings reall⟩ after prayers gossip over the news of the day as they leave the cathedral & concert their evenings rubber of whist with the ⟨Cannon & the⟩ prebends[33]

The interior of the cathedral is under – ⟨The⟩ going repairs, it has been newly coloured, and has all the freshness of its original state – It looks as it must have done centuries since – but it has lost the tint of age, ⟨which to me is one of the charms of these old buildings⟩ The damps and stains; the lichen, the moss; the ivy, are so many graces and beauties, which time alone can bestow on these ⟨an revered piles⟩ ↑old buildings↓ – ⟨they are like the silver hairs⟩ deprive them[34] ⟨old buildings⟩ of these melancholy tints & you rob them of half their charms.

I passed some time in rambling about the ⟨old building⟩ ↑cathedral↓; it is one of those rich despositories of the remains of great men that we find here and there in these ancient countries. It has been the scene of

31. The passage <"I have an inexhaustable . . . Cathedral"> has been deleted with wavy lines in pencil except for the last sentence and clause which were deleted in ink.

32. The pronoun "I" is written above the word "we" in both cases in this line.

33. Prebend, a rare form of prependary, a member of a cathedral chapter receiving a stipend from the estate of the church. Gifford had objected in a letter to Murray, to the word in the manuscript of "Buckthorne," *Tales of a Traveller.* See Ben Harris McClary, ed., *Washington Irving and the House of Murray* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969), p. 58, n. 11.

34. The word "them" is written over the word "these."

pomp & funeral. ⟨In this⟩ At this altar Henry the 4 married Joan of Navarre and Philip of Spain espoused the bloody Mary – Along the summit of a screen are the remains of several Saxon Kings & queens gathered in small gilded coffins; ⟨who they were is not told by⟩

In the choir is a plain stone coffin, in which is the body of William Rufus, who was killed not far from this, in the New Forest. Here also lie the bodies of Queen Boadicea and Alfred the Great. It is strange how ages and events are huddled together in the grave – Here are also the ghastly effigies of Bishop Fox and Bishop Gardiner, represented as ⟨naked and⟩ [*break in manuscript*]

⟨It is⟩
⟨It is a beautiful⟩
You have a beautiful view as you approach Southampton; the Itchen wandering through its ⟨beaut⟩ lovely valley; the picturesque coast beyond with the woods that embosom Netley Abbey – The fine expanse of Southampton water, and on the opposite side the New Forest – where King Rufus was killed. The approach to the town also is delightful: with those fine old mansions that skirt English towns; built of red brick; with courts before them and large Iron gateways; through which you can look into a little domestic paradise. It was towards evening – a summers evening; and the road was enlivened by groups of pedestrians, taking their evening walk – particularly trim nursery maids, ⟨with their little charges⟩ – the prettiest class in England.

And here is another old chivalrous acquaintance; close beside the Ancient gate of the city is an Effigy of Sir Bevis of Hampton, in fine preservation. The old town too has ⟨some of⟩ an air of antiquity ⟨an⟩ The streets are full of ancient houses with bow windows projecting like noses from them. There are remains of the old wall, and part of the castle; and under this wall it was that Canute ⟨was si had his chair⟩ commanded the Sea not to wet him. The little inn where I put up was a part of the old wall, and my room was in what had once been a round tower. I leaned out of my window at night and was watching the star⟨s⟩ light trembling[35]

I have transcribed thus much of his letter because ⟨it⟩ in this spontaneous burst of declamation a great deal of national character may be traced. As the extreme method, the ⟨settled⟩ ↑quiet↓ habits, the impatience of privation and the sober thoughtedness of the English may be ⟨ascribed⟩ ↑attributed↓ ⟨th⟩ to their crowded population, their minute

35. The factual details concerning the historical characters and incidents, and Irving's descriptions in the passage, "I passed . . . trembling," are found also in his "Journal 1820" and are annotated there. See pp. 303–305.

division of labour and the permanent, unvarying aspect of every thing around them – so the ⟨irregularity, the⟩ impatience of restraint, the neglect and almost contempt for minor observances, ⟨the roving, restless⟩ ↑the restless spirit↓ ⟨& sanguine spirit of the Americans; and the⟩ speculative turn and proneness to hyperbole, with which ⟨they⟩ ↑Americans↓ are charged, may be traced to the unsettled mode of their life – the rapid changes that are continually taking place in the state of society and the face of the country around them – to the frequent shiftings of place and occupation – ⟨to⟩ the vast migrations they undertake – the wild scenes through which they pass and the grand and indefinite scale on which they are accustomed to see natural objects. He who is brought up among forests whose shades extends, he knows not ⟨wither⟩ ↑whither↓ – whose eye roves over plains of boundless ⟨perspective⟩ ↑extent↓ – who looks forth upon inland seas, where no opposing shore is visible; who sees vast rivers ⟨rolling⟩ ↑flowing down↓ from he knows not whence, and ⟨pouring⟩ ↑rolling↓ a world of waters to ⟨some⟩ ↑the↓ far distant ocean of which he has only heard. Who beholds every thing around him changing as if by enchantment – ↑⟨that⟩↓ what was once a wilderness becoming a busy hive of population – what in childhood he saw a village ↑grown into a city↓ before he arrives at manhood ⟨is a city⟩ – every where reality outstripping imagination – surely ⟨such an⟩ ↑it is no↓ ⟨one may be excused⟩ wonder that such ⟨an⟩ ↑a↓ one should be speculative and hyperbolical.

I have thought that the very aspect of our country might have an effect upon the national character There is a mute eloquence in nature that is irresistible. Its great features impress themselves upon the mind and fill it with correspondent ideas. Those who have studied the history of their own hearts must be sensible what a powerful ⟨effect⟩ ↑⟨influence⟩ dominion↓ the local scenes of ⟨their⟩ childhood have ⟨over their memory's⟩[36] over the memory. They mingle with our very habits of thinking and give a tinge to the ⟨colour of our⟩ current of our imaginations. For my own part I ⟨find it⟩ thank heaven that I was born among some of the loveliest scenery ⟨of⟩ ↑in↓ the world. The remembrance of the Hudson, that noble river, which was the wonder and delight of my boyhood, remains with me as a kind of mental property. But it is not the reccollection of its ↑sunny reaches, its broad unruffled bays, its woody↓ ⟨beauties tinted as they are in⟩ ↑mountains, its long melting promontories, tinted as they are in↓ my memory, with the hues of youthful fancy, that have with me the greatest ⟨sn?⟩ charm. I recall the early ideas of the beautiful and sublime that were awakened by that glorious stream. There was an Epic simplicity and grandeur about it that filled my mind. My imagination clothed it with moral attributes.

36. The "y" in memory was changed to "ie" before deletion.

There ⟨was⟩ ↑is↓ a noble sincerity in its ample and deep current; always full; never presenting a smiling shallow surface to cover the lurking rock or the perfidious[37]

[*end of page, break in manuscript*]

[Among the old pamphlets in the British Museum ⟨are tw⟩ is a humourous paper on the subject of Christmas. It is introduced by a letter from Oxford, ⟨at which place⟩ ↑where↓ the unfortunate Charles I. at that time held his court. It gives ⟨a lively⟩ ↑a homely but animated↓ picture of Christmas merriment, and is an instance of the sportive raillery with which the wits among the cavaliers were accustomed to treat their gloomy & ⟨biggotted⟩ bigoted adversaries! The following extracts ⟨ther⟩ may, therefore, be acceptable to such as are curious ⟨as⟩ ↑about↓ old customs][38]

HUE AND CRY AFTER CHRISTMAS.[39]

Printed by Simon Minc'd Pye, for Cissely Plum Porridge; and are to be sold by Ralph Fidler, Chandler, at the sign of the Pack of Cards in Mustard alley, in Brawn Street in 1645

A letter from a Scholler in Oxford, to a malignant lady in Town.

Lady,

I beseech you for the love of Oxford, hire a cryer (I will see him paid for his paines) to cry old[40] father Christmas, and keep him with you (if you can meet with him, and stay him) till we come to London, for we expect to be there shortly, and then we will have all things as they were wont, I warrant you; hold up your Spirits, and

37. This final passage, "I have transcribed . . . perfidious," may give the first indication of Irving's desire to write essays on national character, a plan that still preoccupied him early in 1826, although no such essays have survived. See Introduction, *Journals and Notebooks*, III, xviii and pp. 453, 483–84, 544, 546–50, 553, 555–63.

38. This passage was bracketed by Irving.

39. The following selection is a rather complete and carefully copied text with some variations in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation taken by Irving from one of a collection of pamphlets in the British Museum, now listed in *The Thomason Tracts*, I, 413, January 6, with the title *The Arraignment, Conviction and Imprisonment of Christmas . . . With An Hue and Cry after Christmas, and a Letter from Mr. Woodcock, a Fellow in Oxford, to a Malignant Lady in London . . . Printed by Simon Minc'd Pye . . . 1645.*

Irving's *X*'s indicate omissions. The text is reprinted in John Ashton's *A righte Merrie Christmasse!!!* (London, 1894), pp. 29–33. Irving used three sentences of this excerpt as an epigraph for "Christmas" in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 254).

40. "[Among . . . old" covers one page of manuscript, across which is written, lengthwise in pencil, Irving's instruction: "This & the following paper to be set up in smaller type than the rest of the work, being illustrations."

let not your old friends be lost out of your favour, for his sake who is

Your ever servant
Jo: Woodcock.

Lady. Honest Crier, I know thou knewest old father Christmas; I am sent to thee from an honest Scholler of Oxford (that hath given me many a hug & kisse in Christmas time when we have been merry) to cry Christmas, for they hear ↑that↓ he is gone from hence, & that we have lost the poor old man; you know what marks he hath and how to cry him.

Cryer. Who shall pay me for my paines?

Lady Your old friend Mr Woodcock of Oxford, wilt thou take his word?

Cryer. I will cry him I warrant you, through the Citie & countrie, & it shall go hard but I will finde him out.

X X X X

Ho yes, ho-yes, ho, yes. ⟨&c⟩

Any man or woman, whether popish or Prelaticall, Superstitious or Judaicall, Ignorant or Jesuiticall, or what person soever, of any Tribe or Trullibub, that can give any knowledge, or tell any tidings of an old, old, very old gray bearded gentleman called Christmas, who was wont to be a very familiar ghest, and visite all sorts of people both poor and rich, and used to appear in glittering gold silk and silver ⟨at⟩ ↑in↓ the court, and in all shapes in the Theatre in whitehall, and had ringing, feasts and jollitie in all places, both in the Citie and Countrie for his comming; if you went to the temple, you might have found him there at In and In, till many a gentleman had outed all the mony from his pocket, and after all, the Butlers found him locked up in their boxes: And in ↑almost↓ every house you might have found him at Cards and Dice, the very boyes and children could have traced him, and the Beggers have followed him from place to place, and seen him walking up and downe; and in every house roast Beefe and mutton, Pies and Plum Porridge, and all manner of delicates round about him, and every one saluting Merry Christmas X X X

X X X

"other markes that you may know him by are that the wanton Women dote after him, he helped them to so many new Gownes, Hatts and Hankerchers, and other fine knacks of which he hath a pack ⟨upon⟩ ↑on↓ his back, in which is good store of all sorts, besides the fine knacks that he got out of their husbands pockets for household provisions for him: he got prentises, servants and Schollers many play dayes, and therefore was well beloved by them also and made all merry with Bag-pipes, Fiddles, and other musicks, Giggs, Dances and Mummings, yea the yong people had more merry dayes and houres before him whilst

he stayed, which was in some houses 12 dayes in some 20. in some more and in some lesse, than in all the year againe."

X X X X X

"All you therefore that by your diligent inquirie, can tell ⟨me where he may be⟩ anie tidings of this ould man called Christmas, and tell me where he may be met withall; whether in any of your streets or elsewhere, though in never so straightened a place, in an applewomans staul, or Grocers Curran Tub, in a Cookes oven, or the Maides porrige pot, or crept into some corner of a Translators shop, where the cobler was wont so merrily to chant his carolls, whosoever can tel me what is become of him, or where he may be found, let them bring him back againe into England, to the crier, and they shall have a Benediction from the Pope, an hundred oathes from the Cavaliers, 40 kisses from the wanton wenches, and be made Pursevant to the next Arch Bishop; Malignants will send him a piece of Braune, and everie Prentice boy will give him his point next holie Thursday, the good Wives will keepe him in some corners of their mince pies, and the new Nuncio Ireland will returne him to be canonized the next reformation of the calender. And so Pope save Christmas!

Cryer, Lady I am come to tell you what returne I can make you of the Crying of Ould Father Christmas, which I have done, and am now here to give you the answer.

Lady. Well said honest cryer. Mr Woodcock will remember you for it.

Cryer. "The poor old man upon St Thomas his day was arraigned, condemned, and after conviction cast into prison amongst the Kings souldiers. Fearing to be hanged, or some other execution to be done upon him, he broke prison and got out ⟨so⟩ at so narrow a passage, between two Iron Bars of a Window, that nothing but onely his old gray beard and hoarie hair of his head stuck there; but nothing else to be seen of him; and if you will have that, compound for it, lest it be sold amongst the sequesterd goods, or burnt with the next Popish pictures, by the hand of the hangman."

⟨upon which the Lady observes –⟩

Lady ↑⟨Well⟩↓ But is old, old, good old Christmas gone? nothing but the hair of his good grave (gray) old head and beard left! Well, I will have that seeing I cannot have more of him, ⟨xxx⟩ ↑one lock will serve Mr Woodcock for a token;↓ but what is the event of his departure?

Cryer. The poor are sorry for it, for they go to every door abegging as they were wont to do "Good Mrs. somewhat against this good time" but Time was transformed – "Away begone, here is not for you;" and so they instead of going to the alehouse to be drunk, were fain to work all the Holidayes, The schollars came into the Hall, where their

Hungry stomacks had thought to have found good brawn and Christmas Pies, Roast Beef and Plum-Porridge, but no such matter; away ye profane, these are superstitious meats, your stomacks must be fed with wholesome doctrine. Alas poor tallow-faced ⟨Christmas⟩ Chandlers, I met them mourning through the streets, and complaining that they could get no vent for their mustard for want of Brawn. ⟨&c xxx⟩

Lady. Well, if ever Catholiques or Bishops rule again in England, they will set the ⟨door⟩ Church dores open ⟨again⟩ on Christmas day, & we shall have Masse at the high Altar, as was used when the day was first instituted, and not have the holy Eucharist barred out of School, as Schoolboyes do their Masters against the festival. What shall we have our Mouths shut to welcome old Christmas? No, no, bid him come by night, over the Thames, and we will have a back door open ⟨for him⟩ to let him in. I will myself give his diet for one year, to try his fortune, this time twelve month it may prove better.

Derbyshire[41]

July 30

Leave Birmingham at 8 o'clock in coach for Leek: ⟨where I wan⟩ on the way passed through ↑Litchfield↓ Uttoxeter & cheadle. The route lies through a beautiful country particularly after leaving ⟨Uttoxeter⟩ – Abbots Bromley –

Pass by the lands of Lord Paget, game well preserved; see a fine cock pheasant Pass on left seat of Earl of Uxbridge situated on the side of a Hill, ⟨surrounded⟩ ↑⟨partly sur-⟩↓ with woods in the rear & on the sides of it. Leek a genteel looking little town pleasantly situated on a rising ground. Old church on the highest part, commanding a prospect. Take chaise here for Buxton Lonely ride over the bare Derby shire Hills. Country dreary – cattle scatterd over the hills, & ⟨only ho⟩ few houses to be seen.

Arrive at Buxton about ½ past 7, and put up at St. Anns Hotel. Find Peter at the theater ⟨where⟩[42]

July 31

Ride out in Gig. picturesque ride along the ⟨large⟩ ↑a small stream↓ which runs thru a glen with high craggy cliffs on each side, broken into mass fringed with shrubs & wild flowers

See two nymphs in the Glen in red shawls. Road leaves the Trossach

41. "Derbyshire" is not in Irving's hand and was added later as a heading.

42. Irving left his sister's home in Birmingham to meet his brother Peter at Buxton for an excursion into Derbyshire. He passed through the towns of Leek, Lichfield, Uttoxeter, and Abbot's Bromley en route.

& passes up the face of a high hill – then descends into another glen by the Wye & passes thro romantic Scenery by a mill &c

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Grotesque assemblage of invalids at the Hotel ⟨Bunbury⟩ – Old fellow who skates up to the bell. cannot raise his feet from the ground. Another warped on one side as if he had been scorched before the fire; wit[h] a round apple face & rosy cheeks – a figu[re] ↑for Bunbury,↓ Old muffin faced Major General (Troll Revd – Mr McLean a jolly Swearing parson presides at the head of the table – Captain Waggot an Irish officer[43] –

August 1

Visit Pooles Hole – Shewn in by old Sybils (vide descript. of Pooles hole) Old Sybils charged 2/6 each 5/ [*blank*] penetrate as far as Queen Marys Pillar in returning to the mouth of the cavern old women want to sell us Derbyshire Diamonds 6^{d}-1/-[44]

In the evening at the theatre. Play began when there were only Peter & myself in the boxes & no one in the Pit In the course of the evening the number in the boxes encreased to 7 & Pit to about 6. or 8. Understand that the Company derive between them on an average about 7/6. each. – Manager Mr Thornhill who has 7 children. His daughter – a pretty girl (like Mary C——ks) was the heroine of the Piece. His wife acted one of the female parts & 4 of his children danced a garland dance. Play was Foundling of the Forest. After Piece *"Past 10 Oclock & a Rainy Night."*[45] Very tolerable comic acting in the after piece from Mr Sheridan a Drunken Sailor & Mr Pritchard a Soldier The whole evenings entertainment better performed than I could have expected

NB. at Buxton this day three queer old ladies arrived in Post Chaise & tried to get three single bedded rooms – had but one little trunk covered with canvass between them. Very difficult to be pleased occasioned much mirth among the borders of St Anns Hotel. Capt Waggot was particularly facetious. The Pastor pronounced them d——d ugly bitches & little Bunbury leered with his head on one side & a ludicrous grimace at them.

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43. Buxton, a village in the Lower Peak, situated in a hollow, surrounded by high moors, is still an important inland watering place and summer resort. The hot springs were considered especially efficacious for rheumatic complaints. Lower right edge of sheet missing.

44. Poole's Hole, in the environs of Buxton, a cavern named after an outlaw of the fifteenth century, contains some fine stalactites, including a column called Mary Queen of Scots' Pillar from having been visited by her. Quartz crystals, found on the Diamond Hill, were called Derbyshire Diamonds.

45. William Dimond's melodrama, *The Foundling of the Forest* (1809), and Charles Dibdin's *Past Ten O'Clock, And a Rainy Night* (1815), a musical play.

Ella (or Shes always in the way) an exceedingly ugly old girl that we meet in all parts of the house & in every turn or ramble.[46]

August 2

Prepare to leave Buxton to the disappointment of Capt Waggot who was beating up for a Ball. Give out hints that we may return. Old lady apologizes for the house not being sociable. Leave at ½ past 12. Long drive over bare & black hills, but have a fine sunny day, though some what windy & cool. Wind on our backs. Long tracts of naked Hills streaked with stone fences. no trees & only a solitary house here & there – ⟨diff⟩ varied tints of verdure. Shadows covering each other over the mountains – miss our way & go round by Tides well which makes the drive 3 miles further. ↑say 14 miles in all↓ Have to go across road from Tides well, rather rough. Near the turn off to Bagshaws Caverns see old women & children standing on a ridge with bundles of brush on their heads – very picturesque. Just before reaching Castleton we have to descend a very steep & winding Hill, nearly a mile in length & one of the most painful ones for horse in harness I ever saw. We had to descend from the gig & lead the horse & part of the way I held back the gig to keep it from bearing on the horses Haunches. [*Blank*] Castleton situated in a valley. The Ruins of an old castle ⟨wa⟩ on the summit of a Hill over look it.[47] Put up at the Castle Inn. Very civil people.

Visit ⟨Pea⟩ the Peak Hole. Grand entrance. Rope workers at the entrance. Guided by woman & little boy. A man attends also to light up the chancel – Rate of pay at the Peak, for the guide &c 2/- each visit[48]

Returning from the Peak – escorted by Pretty looking girl who ⟨make⟩ works in the rope wa[lk] said she lived with her grandfather & grandmo[ther] her father & mother being dead.

After dinner I clambered up the Hill to the old castle – the Keep still standing & some mouldering remains of the old wa[ll] No authentic account of this castle. Supposed to have been built by the Saxons.

46. The entries for July 31 and August 1 were first written in pencil and then traced over in ink. Irving made some changes in ink and the penciled words are not always legible. The manuscript continues in pencil.

47. Tideswell, a small village in an area with many caves and caverns, is about five miles from Castleton, where Irving spent the day sightseeing. The ruins above the village are Peveril Castle, a stronghold named for its first owner, the natural son of William the Conqueror.

48. The Peak Cavern, at the foot of the castle-rock, extends over two thousand feet into the hill. Beyond the imposing arched entrance is a large chamber like a chancel. The edge of the manuscript is torn away and probable missing letters are in brackets.

W[e] were told of heads of arrows of mixed met[al?] with some brass in it being found in th[e] castle. I was attended by a little gi[rl &] two ragged boys. Told me they worked the rope walk. one boy got 1/6 pr week. The other worked for his meats.[49] Got milk & pudding & sometimes mutton. Work from 6 in the morning until 6 at night except one hour for dinner. Seem well contented. ⟨Girls get⟩ Women get 7/6 per week. Men something more –

Castle stands on ridge of a hill – a steep precipice on one side – at the bottom the bones of a horse that had grazed too near the edge & fallen off –

From one part of the mouldering walls look down a vast precipice to the hole of the Peak. Crows & Hawks sailing about half way down & cawing about their nests.

After returning to village set out with Peter to visit. Speedwell mines[50] – are shewn them by Hatfield & his soon[51] ⟨Former a⟩ former is a bright eyed, cheerful old man. Descended 110 steps & embarked in a boat, pushed along several hundred yards thro low ⟨vaulted⟩ arched passage ↑lights in the boat↓ Hatfield sung Tom [?] Bowling
His voice reverberated thro the cavern. Gave us an interesting account of the time they first ⟨pierced⟩ discovered the interior cavern from which the water proceeds. In making a blast they burst open this cavern. The roar of the waterfall & the sudden rush of air gave them a dreadful Panic. They thought the water rushing in upon them & fled with terror. ⟨Befor⟩ After we had gone great distance His son got out of the boat & sat in a niche whe[re] he played the fife. ⟨For⟩ Played wild notes by ear. Remarkably fine effect swelling & reverberating thro the arched passage. Hear the distant roar of wat[er] at length come to cavern of vast heigh[t] & depth. Where from a platform we lea[n] over a railing & look down a dark a dre[ad]ful abyss. down which a stream of wat[er] that passes under our feet precipitates it[self?]

Hatfield climbs by a Ladder to a hig[h] part of the cavern where he burns a blue light & lights up the vast h[all] of the cavern in a grand style. He afterwards burns a blue light on the edge of the ⟨abi⟩ platform & throws a light down the abyss.

On returning I get the fife from the Lad & play several tunes among them the march in Tekili. Pay Hatfield 5/- for ⟨seeing⟩ ↑shewing↓ the mine & 4/- for the blue lights (customary price) give his son 1/- for his music.

49. Irving probably meant to write "meals" but crossed the *l*.

50. The Speedwell mine and Speedwell Cavern are reached by a rocky staircase and a canal which ends in a waterfall. Baedeker warns nervous persons to leave the Speedwell unvisited.

51. Irving obviously meant to write "son."

Stroll up ⟨a wild &⟩ the Wingate Glen[52] – Wild & sublime scenery – from its naked desolation. Rocky hill, with spires & towers of lime stone where they gather the Fluor spar – Accompanied in our ramble by a kind of Peripatetic Philosopher – brother in law of Hatfields – who was very communicative. ⟨Let us know that he had lately sav[?]⟩ On returning by Hatfields I heard his son trying to play the March in Tekili which he had nearly caught from my playing[53] Stop & play it over for him several times which brings the whole family to the door. Compliment Hatfield on his musical family. Says he has a daughter married who lives some distance off who h[e] would match against any singer in Engla[nd.]

Peripatetic philosopher accompanies u[s] [*or*] m[e] to village – & on leaving him give him something to drink our healths – Old fellow much delighted & says he will drink the kings health. Returns & tell[s] us a cock & bull story How a fortnight before a brother of the French Kings h[ad] been to see the mines &c thinks He was a Brother of Neapolions – so on[e] of the company told him – no doubt the Philosopher was quizzed.

Fine scene – the moon setting ju[st] behind the Old Tower of the cast[le.] Strolled after dark through the vill[age] & church yard. fellow whistling on [the] church porch. Landlord of the In[n] fat communicative fellow.

⟨Leave⟩ At night clock of old church tower
⟨Aug 3 Leave⟩ opposite the Inn tells the hours.

August 3

Breakfast at 7. about 8 leave ⟨for⟩ Castleton. Fine day tho windy – Long ride over bleak hills without trees. Several miles beyond Tideswell Pass on the right a man hanging in chains. Learn at a neighbouring Turn pike gate that he murdered a woman about two years since at the gate house.

Pass thro village of [*blank*] pleasantly situated in valley with ⟨river out⟩ ↑Wye↓ running by it. Arrive at Bakewell about ¼ past 10. Pleasantly situated. Rutland Arms Hotel people inattentive. Bakewell church situated on rising ground. Old Saxon Door way.[54] Grotesque faces on the tower & cornices. Saracens Head – ⟨[*unrecovered*]⟩ &c. Inside of Bakewell church are several monuments of branches of the Rutland family, antique & curious. While inspecting the church the new

52. The Winnats or Wind Gates, a turf-grown, steeply descending mountain pass, about a mile long and flanked with tall limestone rocks, so called because of the constant stream of air flowing through the chasm.

53. Bottom right edge of manuscript pages torn away.

54. Guide books characterize it as a Norman doorway.

vicar arrived with a young lady[55] that appeared to be his wife & a gentleman Steward of the Rutland estate in the vicinity.

[*Sketch of church entrance on verso*]

– about 1½ miles from Bakewell, we came to Haddon Hall, a fine castellated old mansion situated on a beautiful rising ground, near the banks of the Wye.[56] Found several carriages waiting by the stables, the company examining the Hall. ⟨The grand⟩ Enquired our way & were directed to the grand Portal. ⟨Entered⟩ Path way worn thro' the turf led up to it. Entered ⟨with⟩ & found ourselves in a large quadrangular court, paved, ⟨surrounded by⟩ no one in it – Crossed it to a large folding door which stood open, & entered the Hall of the Mansion. Spacious, with huge fire place, Wainscotted with oak; ⟨ok⟩ oaken rafters over head & roof. Long oaken table at the upper end, where they used to dine. Gallery round two sides of the Hall. Old family paintings. Warrior about to mount his horse over the mantle peice. ⟨This H⟩ Antlers of stags against the wall in various places. This hall was formerly decorated with armour &c but they have been removed to another castle of the Duke of Rutlands.

Fine gentleman & lady & some young ladies rambling about the castle, not being able to find any servant or any one that[57]

Theodosius & Orinda Gertrude Ashley
1700

Corneilea
Armeda
Cammilla
Uranea

Lady Grace Manners head in State bedroom
Theodosius & Orinda[58]

55. The manuscript, beginning with "lady" is again written in ink.

56. Additional descriptive details of Haddon Hall, an old English baronial mansion belonging to the earls of Rutland through the marriage of Dorothy Vernon to Sir John Manners in the sixteenth century, are found in Irving's notebook "Haddon Hall" (see pp. 336–41), and were made on his visit with Leslie in September, 1821. Though Irving depended upon his notes on Aston Hall in Birmingham for descriptive details of his Bracebridge mansion, "he added the embellishments from Haddon Hall, and altered sundry turrets or gargoyles from his memories of other English mansions" (STW, II, 284).

57. Irving's narrative continues after an interpolation of verses, some of which are found on the window panes at Haddon Hall. The entries, dated August 2 and 3, are in pencil.

58. These notations, written in pencil and traced over in ink, are linked to Irving's visit to Haddon Hall. For more detailed descriptions see Haddon Hall notes, pp. 336–41. Some of the names and excerpts of poetry that follow can be identi-

Inscriptions on the Bow Window of the Oak saloon at Haddon Hall[59]

Camilla & her Cassander 1700
Leonora if you with Kindness bless me
Since from you I soon must part
Fortune will so dispossess me
That your love will break my heart
Camilla[60]

Camilla parting with Leonora
How perished is the joy thats past
The present how unsteady
What comfort can be great & last
When this is gone already[61]

Orinda to Leonora
I'd rather in your favour live
Than in a lasting name
And much a greater rate would give
For happiness than fame[62]

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fied in *Poems By the most deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda. To which is added Monsieur Corneille's Pompey & Horace, Tragedies. With several other Translations out of French* (London, 1667). For citations (from the 1678 edition) we have used the reprint in *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, ed. George Saintsbury, vol. 1. (Oxford, 1905).

Some of the names can be identified. Gertrude Ashley was the daughter of Anthony-Ashley Cooper (d. 1699), second earl of Shaftesbury, and Dorothy, daughter of John Manners, eighth earl of Rutland. Cornelia is probably a reference to Pompey's widow in Corneille's *Pompey*, translated by Katherine Philips. Armeda may be reference to Armida, the beautiful sorceress in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1575). Camilla is the mistress of Curtius and sister of Horace in Corneille's *Horace*, translated by Katherine Philips. Uranea may be a reference to Urania, the ninth muse. Lady Grace Manners, the daughter of Sir Henry Pierpont, married Sir George Manners in 1594 and became the mother of the eighth earl of Rutland.

59. Irving made use of some of these inscriptions and explained in "Family Relics," in *Bracebridge Hall*: "Several of the windows, too, have scraps of poetry engraved on them with diamonds, taken from the writings of the fair Mrs. Philips, the once celebrated Orinda" (*Works*, IV, 52–53). Though the inscriptions can be identified the headings are attributed by Irving to the inscribers. Slight variations in spelling and punctuation occur in Irving's transcriptions.

60. Lines 5–8 of a 16 line poem entitled "Song. To the Tune of *Sommes nous pas trop heureux*" (Saintsbury, I, 577). The printed text has as its first word "For" and not "Leonora."

61. The second of four stanzas of the poem "Lucasia and Orinda parting with Pastora and Phillis at Ipswich" (Saintsbury, I, 595).

62. The last of seven stanzas of the poem "To my Lady Elizabeth Boyle, singing Now affairs, &c." (Saintsbury, I, 567). In "Family Relics" Irving gives the heading as "Theodosius to Camilla."

Orinda parting with Ariana
Whoever thinks that joys below
Can lasting be and great
Let him behold this parting blow
And cure his own deceit[63]

appeared to have charge of it. We explored the whole building; full of windings & odd passages; Suites of rooms hung with old tapestry, which covered the doors. Found one door locked & peeping through the key hole saw that it opened upon a grand gallery of vast length & ⟨highly⟩ wainscotted. After wandering about the old mansion nearly an hour we came back to this door and found it open. Entered the gallery or rather saloon. Had evidently been the grand saloon for balls, entertainments &c. Wainscotted walls. Ceiling stuccoed. Large Bow windows. Paintings over the fire places. ⟨at⟩ towards the upper end a folding door led into an antichamber, hung with old tapest[ry] ⟨From thence⟩ In which ⟨were⟩ a full length painting of Queen Elizabeth. Prince Eugen[e] & Prince Rupert – & King Charles 2d.[64]

From this a door opened into a state bed chamber. Old Bed with high tester and rich hangings of velvet lined with worke[d] sattin. Counterpane richly worked sattin which we afterwards understood was worked [by?][65] Katharine Rutland whose initials were work[ed] on it. Large Bow window that looked in the inner court In the Bow window a sma[ll] Box, with sliding door, opened it & ⟨↑was↓ startled⟩ ↑under the door a pane of glass↓[66] ⟨by what at first glance appeared to be a human head⟩ found it contained the representation in, wax or plaister of a human head with the pallid hue & all the appearance of death. (found afterwards that it was a) ↑Lady Grace Manners mother to the first↓ likeness of ⟨a⟩ Dutchess of Rutland taken after her death; she was reputed a great beauty

Mrs Radcliff is said to have taken the idea of the Castle of Udolpho from this old hall & this singular box may have given the idea of her mysterious picture[67]

63. The first of twelve stanzas of the poem "Parting with a Friend" (Saintsbury, I, 596).

64. Irving recorded the same paintings in his Haddon Hall notes but names Charles I as the subject of one painting. See p. 337.

65. Words or syllables in brackets are supplied because parts of the pages are torn.

66. "under . . . glass" is written in pencil.

67. Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823) whose *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) reflects her skill in using a landscape to create a mood made her an influential writer of the Gothic tale of horror. "Lady . . . first" is also written in pencil.

The[68] State Bed chamber hung with Tapestry representing stories. In corner of the room the Tapestry waves with the wind, on raising it find there was a door behind opening into another appartment hung with tapes[try] from which there was a communication with the other side of the castle. Returned into the ⟨large⟩ ↑grand↓ cedar saloon found inscriptions on the small panes of glass in the great Bow window – copied some of them off (vide Page [*blank*]) while busied with this the old housekeeper en[tered] who had been occupied shewing this Hall [to?] other company. A worthy mother old dame, hard of hearing – she shewed us over various parts of the Hall where we had not been. The Chapel – Dukes apartment &c &c. In one of the offices of the Hall we saw several huge boots – such as were worn after the disuse of Leg Armour –

We were so much delighted with the Hall that we determined to pass greater part of the afternoon there. [*Blank*] Old Housekeeper ⟨of⟩ tol[d] ⟨agreed to⟩ us she could give us a bit of col[d?] mutton bread cheese &c ⟨He⟩ &[69] her husband promised to take care of Dudley. we therefore closed with her offer. Made an excellen[t] meal in the cottage, in the vicinity of the Hal[l] where the old housekeeper resides. Two Ladies taking sketches of the entrance & grand tower of the Hall, while the gentleman with whom they came ⟨cast⟩ angled in the Wye.

After dinner strolled about the banks of the Wye – & in the gardens of the Hall [–] Gardens not extensive, but old fashioned in great neglect.

New Vicar of Bakewell & his companio[ns] arrived at the Hall. Old housekeeper on alert to open all the doors. We take another stroll thro part of the Hall. – Hall lately whitewashed & cleaned throughout – but no furniture in, exce[pt] the state bed – and a few old fashioned chairs in the old drawing room.

Adjoining the great Hall is the dining room of the Vernons [*blank*] very old fashioned with a few high backed chairs. Around the cornice of the room were the crests of the Vernons. (a bears head) carved in oak – also, the motto of their arms &c the armorial bearings of the Black prince &c – over a closet, was carved in wood a likeness of King Henry VII & one of his queen, likewise in a corner, the head of the fool.[70]

Leave Haddon Hall about ½ past 5 and have a beautiful ride to Chatsworth [–] the latter part of it thro' the park of the Duke of Devonshire. Visit the Palace of the D.D. on the Banks of the Derwent. – See the

68. Everything is written in pencil from here into the first two sentences of the entry "Aug 8th" but the sketch of Haddon Hall is in ink.

69. Irving wrote the ampersand over the word "He."

70. Traditionally believed to be William Somers, the jester of Henry VII. His queen was Elizabeth of York.

rooms where Mary Queen of Scots ⟨died. The⟩ was confined.[71] The Bed on which Geo II died. The coronation chairs of Geo 3 & Queen Charlotte

Old part of the palace, cedar rooms, with exquisite carvings in wood in high relief, of flowers fruit, game &c. Water works about the ground. Fall of water down the slope in rear of the Palace – Grand Staircase of Derbyshire marble. Portraits of the beautiful Dutchess of Devonshire – Her dressing room &c.[72]

August 4

Leave Chatsworth about 10 Oclock. In passing thro the park ⟨one an the⟩ a small herd of deer gallop across the road — The day uncommonly fine. The ride beautiful through a rich valley watered by the Derwent. Romantic scenery as you approach Matlock [?] Cliffs Breaking forth from among rich foliage on the Derwent winding at the foot of Precipitous hills.[73] [*Blank*] Put up at the old Bath Hotel – Cummings – Find Mr & Mrs Heard there & her sister. ⟨Bishop of⟩

At Dinner meet with Bishop of Norwich & his family – 3 pretty daughters Sir Thos Williams ↑vice admiral of the Blue↓ and his Lady – Sr Francis Ford[74] After dinner take a delightful ramble about the hills with Mr Heards party – visit the Strawberry garden –

August 5

⟨Visit the Gro⟩ Ramble thro the grounds of Mr Arkwright. Find Sr Thos. Wms. & his lady there & the 3 merry gents. The[75] walks in these grounds wind along the cliffs that overhang the glen of Matlock. In the evening a ball – Dance with the Miss' Both daughters of the Bishop

71. Chatsworth, the magnificent seat of the duke of Devonshire, built 1687–1706, contrasted with medieval Haddon Hall. It occupies the site of an earlier edifice, in which Mary Stuart was once imprisoned.

72. "Leave . . . &c." is written on the back of the next page beginning "Aug. 4th . . . Bishop" but obviously belongs here.

73. Matlock on the Derwent was much visited on account of the beautiful scenery surrounding it. Early guide books list High Tor, a romantic hill, Cliff-House, Lover's Walk, and numerous caverns.

74. In a letter to Brevoort, dated January 29, 1817, Irving identifies Bishop Bathurst of Norwich and gives a detailed account of the excursion to Dovedale and the picnic in St. Mary's cavern with his friends. See *Letters*, I, 466–70. Henry Bathurst (1744–1837), seventh son of a brother of the first earl of Bathurst, consecrated bishop of Norwich in 1805, was distinguished for his liberal principles, and supported Roman Catholic emancipation. Sir Thomas Williams (1762?–1841), son of Captain William Williams, served in the British navy since boyhood. He became vice-admiral in 1814 and admiral in 1830. Sir Francis Ford (1787–1839) grew up in the West Indies.

75. The article "the" is written over the word "these."

August 6

Ride to Dove Dale. Stop at the Inn of Dog & Partridge about a mile from Dale & put up our horse there. In strolling thru the dale we overtook Sr Thos Wms & lady The Misses Bathursts & Sir Francis Ford – joined their party – ⟨explored the dale to⟩ Scrambled into Reynards cave: Natural arch way like the gate of a castle – that stands in advance of the cave – ⟨From thence⟩ Sir Francis Ford takes sketches of the scen[er]y – ⟨After⟩ The scenery of the dale grows more wild, rich & romantic as you proceed to St Marys cave, where we rested while ⟨the⟩ Miss Caroline Bathurst & Sir F. F. took sketches – proceed on to another cave & stroll beyond it. Showers induce us to return. Stop for a while ⟨until the⟩ in the last cave until shower subsides. prevents our walk. Meet a party of ladies under the escort of Revd. Mr White of London, who was recognized by Miss Bathurst as the Family go to his chapel in Londn Showers continue. We stop in St Marys cave, where an old woman & her daughter had brought the provisions of the party.

Lay the cloth on the bottom of the cave [–] sit round on fragments of rock & make a hearty & merry repast.

The girl brings water from the Dove for our repast – After dinner as the rain continues ⟨we⟩ tried various modes of passing away time. Miss [*blank*] Bathurst sang a whimsical song of Polly Oliphant.

Sir Thos Wms. sang a medley – &c &c – Got the old womans daugh[ter] to sing a country dance which she does with a complete nasal twang – all dance a ⟨to⟩ round to it. Sing the Boulange & dance. Girl sings a long dismal balla[d] Old woman tells a long ⟨ghost⟩ story about a ghost she saw when a girl 12 years old. The ghost was on horseback, without a head but with bright spurs. He used to haunt their neighbourhoo[d] ⟨one⟩ ↑asked a↓ young man to ride behind [him] which he did – carried him to [*blank*] his home but the door being fast ghost horse & all jumped over the house – young man died shortly after. [*Blank*] tells about Robins gang (gypsies) that goes up & down the neighbourhood.

After remaining in the cave for a long time without any prospect of the rains subsiding we set off on our return. Had to walk mile & half thro heavy rain. All the Party completely wet before reaching the carriage. Peter & myself trudge over the hills to the Dog [&] Partridge to look for place for the ladies to dry & warm themselves. House completely crowded by Ashbourne & his party that had been caught in the rain. Ladies promise[d] a room where they have to go to bed until their clothes are dried. Peter & Myself drive to Matlock

in the gig & satisfy the minds of the Bishop & his lady as to the safety of their daughters Ladies reach home ½ past 11.[76]

August 7

The Bathursts leav[e] ⟨The⟩ Matlock of Buxton & at the same time other parties go off. We sailed on the river in the morning & in the afternoon took a stroll to the heights on the opposite side of the river with Sir Thos. & Lady Wms ↑Mr White & party.↓

August 8

leave Matlock at 9 oclock & have a pleasant ride to Haddon Hall. Stop at the housekeepers cottage Mrs Hayes.[77] Find that a party is in the Hall exploring it. As we knew our way all over the old mansion we entered ⟨now⟩ the portal – crossed the quadrangular court & visited the great Hall. While here we heard voices of the party above stairs & knocked against the wall, to summon the housekeeper. Heard some one cry *come forth*, ⟨but,⟩ in tragic tone. Made our way up the grand staircase, across the gallery that runs round the Hall & so into the western side of the castle – as we knew our way we passed thro several suites of appartments until we came into one hung with tapestry that adjoins the state bedchamber. The door between them, which is concealed on both sides, was locked. After remaining here some moments we heard voices in the State bed chamber & found that a party of ladies were in it. We knocked ⟨agst⟩ against the door; ⟨but⟩ it made a momentary pause in their conversation but they soon resumed it. I made rattling at the door as if endeavouring to open it. At length I heard one lady say, in mock heroics. I am determined to see whats here. She accordingly drew aside the tapestry, unloc[k]ed the door & opening it started back amazed at seeing Peter & myself. We entered & found it was the party of Mr Whit[e] whom we had met a day or two before in dove Dale. The incident caused a great dea[l] of merriment. We walked over the old building with them. Mr White took sketches from the outside after which they took their leave, being on their way for Chatsworth & Nottinghamshire. We refreshed ourselves with bread & milk in the cottage of the Old Housekeeper & then proceeded to Bakewell.

Strolled about here while the horse was getting shod – ↑& copied inscriptions on tomb stones in the church yd↓ ⟨which done⟩ We rode to Buxton – Passed through a very beautifu[l] little valley on the way – and afterwards thro' the Trossach. Arrived at Buxton in time for Dinner. In the evening a play was acted under patronage of the Ladies & Gents

76. Irving gave a detailed account of this excursion to Dovedale in a letter to Brevoort, dated Birmingham, January 29, 1817. See *Letters*, I, 466–70.

77. The passages "The State . . ." (p. 76) . . . Hayes" are written in pencil.

of St Anns. Rivals and Maid & Magpie[78] – very tolerably performe[d] Meet Sir Francis Ford at Buxton. ⟨He was⟩

Inscription on a tomb stone in the church yard at Bakeswell[79] –

James Avins
The son of James & Frances Avins departed this life Decr. 12th. 1809. Aged 2 years & 8 months.

Reader! beneath this marble lies
The Sacred dust of Innocence
Two years he blest his parents eyes
The third an angel took him hence
The sparkling eyes the lisping tongue
complaisance sweet & manners mild
And all that pleases in the young
Were all united in this child.
Wouldst then its happier state explore
To thee the bliss is freely given
So gentle reader! Sin no more
And thou shalt see this flower in heaven.

Another one an infant 3 yrs 3 Mo[s]

Beneath a sleeping infant lies
To earth where body lent
More glorious shall hereafter rise
Tho' not more innocent
When the Archangels trump shall blow
And souls to bodys join
Millions shall wish their lives below
Had been as short as thine[80]

August 9

Leave Buxton about ½ past 12. Showery weather; encounter two or three sharp showers crossing the bleak Hill above Buxton. Ride afterwards becomes very pleasant. Pass thro' Stockport. Country a few miles from Buxton becomes fertile, and more level. arrive at Manchester about ¼ before 4. & put up at the Albion.

78. Richard B. Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775) and Samuel Arnold's *The Maid and the Magpye; or, Which is the Thief* (1815), a musical play. "Aug 8th . . . was⟩" is written in ink.

79. Bakewell, where Irving had stopped on his way to Haddon Hall.

80. "Inscription . . . thine" is written in pencil. The rest of this manuscript is written in ink.

At Manchester
Dine at Mr Cardwells
– Mr & Mrs Hyde
Miss Lees[81]

1816
Derbyshire[82]
Cheap French Eating house in the neighborhood of Leicester Square; where French men try to cheat themselves into a remembrance of Paris.

Odd looking people, in odd dresses. One old Frenchman in a light blue coat. Very precise; hangs his hat on a particular peg, displacing any hat which may happen to hang there. Takes his seat at a particular table. Lays his knife fork and spoon in order. Takes his tumbler, twists his napkin into it and wipes it hard; looking another way and screwing his face as he screws the napkin.

One old Frenchman of sleek rotundity sleeps for a couple of hours after dining. His pug dog sallies forth on foraging expeditions, bringing back bones which he gnaws between his masters legs. French lady of shabby gentility entering the eating house produces a great Sensation; ⟨every⟩ homage of all the old Frenchmen.[83]

["] As a probationary fee, and a fund on which to proceed, I will bring into the common stock a Sum of gold, the residue of a legacy, which has enabled me to complete my education. A poor scholar cannot boast much, but I trust we shall soon put ourselves beyond the reach of want; and if we should fail, why, I must depend, like other scholars, upon my brains to carry me through the world."

The philosophers spirits, however were more depressed than the student had imagined. ⟨for a long time he only shook his head He⟩ ⟨This⟩ ⟨The principle of reaction⟩ ⟨Represented⟩ This last shock, following in the rear of so many disappointments, had almost destroyed the reaction of his mind; ⟨but⟩ The fire of an enthusiast, ↑however,↓ is never so low but that it may be blown again into a flame. By degrees the old man was cheered and reanimated by the buoyancy and ardour of his sanguine companion.

He at length agreed to accept of the services of the student, and ⟨to enter once more⟩ once more to renew his experiments. He objected, however, to using the students gold, nothwith-[84] [*break in MS*]

81. The entries "at Manchester . . . Lees," written in pencil on a slip, are pasted on the page.

82. "1816 Derbyshire," written in ink on a slip and pasted on the page, is not in Irving's writing.

83. Typical observations jotted down by Irving for possible use later.

84. The entire passage, ending with a break in the manuscript, was used with

subsequent visit to the tower, to see that the fire was extinguished, Antonio had gathered that his patient was an Alchymist. The ⟨Sea Search after the⟩ philosophers stone was an object eagerly sought after by visionaries in those days; but in consequence of the superstitious prejudices of the times; and the frequent persecutions of its votaries, they were apt to ⟨prosecute⟩ ↑pursue↓ their experiments in secret; ↑in↓ ⟨In⟩ lonely houses; in caverns, and ruins or ↑in↓ the privacy of cloistered cells ⟨The In The night⟩

⟨The night passed away without further dis-⟩

⟨The⟩

⟨The⟩ In the course of the night the old man had several fits of restlessness and delirium; ⟨and⟩ he would call out upon ⟨Sendirogius and Raymond Lully⟩ ↑Theophrastus and Geber↓ and Albertus Magnus, and other sages of his art; and anon would ⟨babble⟩ ↑murmur↓ about fermentation, and projection; ⟨and⟩ until towards ⟨morning⟩ ↑day light↓ he once more sunk into ⟨quiet and a sa-⟩ a salutary sleep. When the morning sun darted his rays into the casement[85]

The daughter only looked her thanks, but as they shone through the tears that filled her fine black eyes, the student thought them a thousand times the most eloquent.

Here then he was; by a singular turn of chance, completely housed within this mysterious mansion. When left to himself and the bustle of the scene was over, his heart throbbed as he looked round the chamber in which he was sitting. It was the daughters room; the promised land towards which he had cast so many a longing gaze. The furniture was old, and had probably belonged to the building in its prosperous days, but everything was arranged with propriety. The flowers that he had seen her attend stood in the window; a guitar leaned against a table, on which stood a crucifix and before it lay a missal and a rosary. There reigned an air of purity and serenity about this little nestling place of innocence; it was the emblem of a chaste and quiet mind. Some few articles of female dress lay on the chairs; and there was the very bed on which she had slept; the pillow on which her soft cheek had reclined! The poor Scholar was treading enchanted ground; for what

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slight changes in punctuation and capitalization in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 208–209).

85. At the top of the page preceding "subsequent" appears the word "Traveller," in pencil and in another hand, a false identification of the passage, attributed to *Tales of a Traveller*. It is from "The Student of Salamanca" in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *ibid.*, IV, 201.

fairy land has more of magic in it, than the bed chamber of innocence and beauty?[86]

Tollers point

This point in early times used to be frequented by a veteran fisherman named Peter Storm. He was tall and meagre; with a small round crowned hat that just fitted the top of his head a homespun jacket buttoned close from his waist band to his chin and a loose baggy homespun trowsers. He was weasel bodied and his sedentary occupation of fishing had given him the curve of a bow. He haunted all the rocks and jutting points where there was any eddy. Morning noon and night he was able to be seen seated on one or the other; watching the water like a heron or a crane, and angling with a long rod. However dark and stormy the weather Peter was sure to be at one or other of his fishing grounds; patient, persevering and always alone. ⟨It was thought Peter could tell many a story if he would, of the strange sights seen on the river whe⟩ Some thought, from his lonely habits that all was not right with him; but in truth he was a simple inoffensive soul, who harmed nobody. ↑Sometimes as evening was drawing↓ ⟨He used to come he be met jogging⟩ ↑on he would be met jogging↓ home in the evening with a little basket on his arm, a long rod over his shoulder, and a wet mark on his bagging trowsers which shewed that his seat had not been the dryest;

If asked what sport, Peter ⟨head⟩ would shake his head and make some good joke about "fishermans luck" which I have forgotten.

Ships, ships, ↑I↓ will descrie you
Amidst the main,
I ⟨can⟩ will come and try you,
What you are protecting
And projecting
Whats your end and aim.
One goes abroad for merchandize and trading
Another stays to keep his country from invading
A third is coming home with rich and wealth of lading
Hallow my fancie, wither wilt thou go?

Old poem.[87]

86. *Ibid.*, IV, 200–201. Slight variations; the Hudson Edition has "threading" for "treading" in the third line from end, which is a misprint.

87. Though the section "Tollers point" has not been identified and was probably discarded by Irving, he printed the poem at the end as an epigraph to "The Voyage" in *The Sketch Book*, where in the last two lines the printed text reads

THE TOWER

The treasury of crimes; the house of sighs

Dined with the officers on guard in their mess room in the old Beauchamp tower. This room was formerly a prison of State and its stone walls, though painted, bear the deeply graven ⟨records⟩ ↑mementoes↓ of captivity and suffering. Among these are the armorial bearings of one of the Dudleys wrought in relief and ornamented with elaborate care; the patient labor of a long imprisonment. Here and there are mottos cut into the wall by various prisoners, conveying brief maxims of philosophy or religion for the benefit of their successors in misfortune. ↑Such as the following↓ "The most unhappy man is he that is not pacient in adversities; For men are not killed with the adversities they have, but with ye impacience which they suffer"[88]

Never in the history of this changeful world has been recorded a more lamentable reverse than that which took place in Spain after the overthrow of her army under King Roderick on the banks of the Guadalete. City after city, province after province yielded to the invaders. The Swarthy Arab of the desert and the dark son of Afric lorded it over the land; the turban succeeded to the Gothic helm; the churches and cathedrals were converted into Mosques; instead of the holy melody of Christian bells the voice of the [*blank*] was heard calling to prayers and the crescent gleamed over those towers which had once been sanctified by the cross. The very Pyrenees, those mighty and apparently indomitable mountains were [*break in MS*]
to the music[89]
How much of the gay, amatory spirit, the passion for music and the dance, the vivid enjoyment of the moment, which prevail among the modern Andalusians may be attributed to the influence of climate and situation. The same characteristics were remarked of the Moslems who once inhabited this happy part of Spain

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"wealthy lading" and "Halloo!" (*Works,* XIX, 20). The correct reading that Irving copied appears as the fourth of seventeen stanzas, song 13, "Hallow My Fancie.—Anonymous," in *English Minstrelsy . . .*, 2 vols., ed. Sir Walter Scott (London, 1810), II, 89. Curiously enough, Irving's insertion of "I" above the first line corrects an omission in the printed text.

88. Irving copied extensively from an "Account of Inscriptions discovered on the Walls of an Apartment in the Tower of *London*" (*Archæologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity,* XIII, 68–99), in his manuscript "Haddon Hall." See pp. 365–66. Irving may have dined with the officers in the Beauchamp tower, but this passage summarizes details of the first three paragraphs of the article. The inscription quoted is by Charles Bailly in the service of the queen of Scots, dated September 10, 1571, and is found in the article on p. 95.

"Owing to the influence of the planet Venus," says the Arabian writer Ibun Ghalil[?], "the people of Andalus are of a lively imagination, excel in every thing that regards dress and purity of person are ⟨gay and⟩ graceful in their manners much addicted to pleasure and take great delight in music"

All this might preeminently be said of Granada and its vicinity. The amenity of its climate, where the ardent heats of a southern climate are tempered by refreshing breezes from Snow clad mountains; the voluptuous repose of its valleys and the bosky ⟨fresh⟩ richness and beauty of its groves[90]

I was a lively boy, full of curiosity, of easy faith, and prone to relish a story the more it partook of the marvellous. Two or three of the passengers took a delight in playing upon these propensities and told me all kind of extravagant tales about the river. One of these persons was an old ↑red faced↓ bottle nosed fellow named Bugbee, Medicinal Doctor as he called himself, who was a perfect Munchausen. He wore a cocked hat and scarlet cloak, a kind of charlatan dress not unusual in those times, and ↑probably↓ intended by him to attract attention and gain custom, like those bottles of coloured water that glare afar by lamp light in apothecaries windows.

He had something of a strange, necromantic appearance in my eyes, heightened ↑perhaps↓ by the nick name given him by the other passengers, who from his bottled nose, and his ⟨devotion to⟩ tippling propensities, dubbed him the bottle conjurer. This old man, heaven forgive him, abused my juvenile ear outrageously with his legendary fables; and gave me some marvellous impressions connected with various parts of the river, which I have never been able entirely to shake off.[91]

Cocked hat, who was holding forth apparently with great eloquence, under the porch of a little tavern, to a crowd of admirers.

At length the Inspector came on board; he was a large man, with a huge periphery that swagged as he walked, and a sandy scratch on the top of his head, not unlike the thatched roof of a haystack. He was attended by his guard; an old deaf fellow; ⟨with a foxy coloured

89. The phrase "to the music," written in a different ink, was added later.

90. Irving copied passages from De Bourgoanne's *Travels in Spain* into his "Haddon Hall" manuscript, but used that notebook also for travel notes on his first visit to Granada (See pp. 346–47 and 351–55). Whether this desultory passage about Spain reflects Irving's own observations or is taken from his reading is uncertain, but the opening sentence parallels the first sentence in the "Legend of the Engulfed Convent," first published in *The Knickerbocker*, March, 1840, and reprinted in *Wolfert's Roost*, 1855 (*Works*, XXVII, 395).

91. Probably notations of boyhood recollections that Irving never used.

but towering cocked hat, decorated with a small cockade⟩ in a long flimsy surtout; a brass hilted sword, and an antique towering cocked hat, decorated with a small round cockade, resembling the dial on a village steeple. Such ⟨was⟩ were the two ⟨After⟩ official dignitaries under whose inspection we had to pass on first arriving in Holland[92]

Greenburgh, April 15th 1840

My dear Charles

Your letter has been lying by me for a few days unanswered[93]

The honorable east India company.[94] The Dutchmen drew their swords when they beheld the Fairy queen & her nymphs issuing out of the forest, for they supposed them the natives of the island, whom it was necessary to slay or subdue and then make christians of them according to the regular course of discovery. When they found however that they were ⟨not a⟩ all females they sheathed their weapons and soon entered into amicable intercourse. ⟨In a little while each Dutchman had his nymph, nay some had two, who⟩ – Never were men so delighted with a new found land and its inhabitants as the honest Dutchmen. They landed ⟨ru⟩ kegs of true hollands and round dutch cheeses to regale ⟨their⟩ the nymphs, and in a little while the shores of the island rang with riot & revelry ⟨that had never visited its shores. The⟩ Each Dutchman had his nymph, nay many a one had two and ⟨rolled⟩ ↑reeled↓ about the shore ⟨leer⟩ ↑with flask in hand↓ leering from one ⟨to the⟩ ↑beauty to the↓ other with his broad face distended into a smile that reached from ear to ear. The nymphs had witnessed various mortals, but none so jolly and rough in their pleasantry. They ↑The dutchmen↓ drank, they laugh.ed, they ↑whooped they↓ halooed, they danced with uncouth gambols and pulled about the nymphs in a style that never nymphs had been pulled about by mortal man.

In the mean time the fairy Armida was charmed with the honest broad gallantry of Hans Van Houten.[95]

⟨Several days passed away in this⟩

Day after day passed unheeded in this roaring and jocund life

92. Possibly a description of the inspection upon Irving's arrival in Holland from London in July, 1822. Irving arrived at Rotterdam, July 7. See Letter to Thomas W. Storrow, dated Haerlem, July 11, 1822. *Letters*, I, 692–93.

93. A fragment of a letter, written by Irving. Greenburgh or Greenburg is the name of the township in which his cottage Sunnyside was situated. See PMI, III, 101; also *Letters*, II, 837 and passim, when Irving wrote seventeen letters between 1835 and 1838 with such a date line.

94. This narrative with many deletions and corrections was apparently never utilized. Irving's story of Hans Van Houten probably used the quotation from Richard III, which follows, as a point of departure.

95. "In . . . Houten" is canceled with vertical lines.

The ⟨Pins[?]⟩ ship lay rolling ⟨her broad bottom⟩ in the ⟨ba⟩ undulating bay, with no one ⟨to⟩ on board. The Skipper Hans Van Houten had forgotten all his ⟨thrifty⟩ usual care & caution and was completely bewildered by his fairy Mistress, while Armida patted the broad ⟨ros⟩ ruddy cheeks of the dutchman and twined flowers in his flaxen hair, and for once persuaded herself she had found constancy in ↑a↓ mortal⟨s⟩ man[96]

By degrees however the broad honest face of Skipper Hans began to contract [–] the smile which had extended from ear to ear disappeared, and a considerable cloud of thought stole over his brow. He was thinking of the interruption of his voyage – the expenses of his ship, idly rocking in the bay, and the obligations he was under to the honorable East India company. The Fairy soon penetrated his thoughts for what female cannot ⟨discover⟩ ↑dive into↓ the secret thoughts of her lover, ⟨even though she be not possessed of fairy power, and⟩ above all when that female is a fairy. She smiled at the narrow cares and sordid wants of mortals. If it be riches you seek, said she, There is no need of cruising to the end of the earth in search of ⟨it⟩ ↑them↓; come with me and behold the treasures of this island. ⟨She took Hans with her⟩ She conducted Hans to the caverns of the Rocks where lay heaped up ⟨the⟩ treasures that ⟨had been⟩ from age to age had been lost in the deep. Here the sea nymphs and the ocean sprites brought them at ⟨th⟩ her command and flung them heedlessly on shore. Here were riches of all climes and ages. Bars of gold and silver, some since the days of Solomon when the ships traded to Ophir & Tarshish and regions no longer to be traced. ↑others collected from the Mines of Mexico and Peru↓ rich strings of pearls, boxes of diamonds – huge tusks of ivory. Here lay bales[97] of oriental silks and ↑the↓ precious spices of the Indian Seas. Vases of gold of Grecian & Roman workmanship and many ⟨the⟩ idols of the Egyptians.

Hans Van Houten gazed in mute amazement at such countless wealth, but the fairy paused not here. Striking the sea with her wand a passage opened into its profoundest depths and she ⟨led⟩ ↑invited the↓ the awe struck Dutchman ↑to descend↓ into this covered way, walled as it were with water. Hans shrunk with terror, but the fairy reassured him, and the sights he soon beheld were enough to have ⟨tempted the⟩ roused the courage even of a less adventurous Dutchman. The deep valleys of the ocean ⟨strewed st⟩ were strewn with treasures. Here lay great carracks[98] of the olden time that had sailed these seas long before the

96. The word "man" has been added in another hand.

97. "others . . . bales" is written in the left margin of the page.

98. Merchant vessels or galleons.

reach of history. Broken galleys of the Egyptians and Phoenecians[99] he would fain have filled the deep pockets of his wide trunk hose with pearls and diamonds, or have secreted a few wedges of gold under his doublet, but one of his fairy guide prevented him[100]

> Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;
> A thousand men, that fishes gnawed upon;
> Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
> Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,
> All scattered at the bottom of the ⟨deep⟩ sea.
> Some lay in dead mens sculls; and, in those ⟨places⟩ holes
> Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept
> (As 'twere in scorn of eyes) reflecting gems,
> That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
> And mock'd the dead bones that lay scattered by.
>
> King Rich[d] III
> Act I. Scene IV[101]

many of them freighted with wealth, The gold & silver had ⟨broken through the rotten cowls[102] fo⟩ burst through the ⟨bot⟩ decayed planks of their sides and poured forth upon the ground. Here lay anchors which had deceived the trust of the mariner; cuirasses ↑& bucklers↓ & swords & pikes of ancient form, near the warlike galleys that had founderd with them. Chests of treasure and beside them the ⟨skeletons of bo⟩ whitning bones of their passengers

Hans gazed around bewildered. He wished to fill ↑the pockets of↓ his wide trunk hose with pearls & diamonds, or to secrete a few wedges of gold under his doublet, but awe of his fairy guide prevented him. He was soon filled with alarm at beholding the vast monsters of the deep roaming around him The mighty whale, the ravenous shark, the swift darting sword fish, but soon found that all were obedient to the ⟨pow⟩ wand of his guide. He beheld the mermaids in their coral bowers, and the tritons sporting in the deep green valleys of the sea; while far above him he ⟨beheld⟩ descried the deep freighted hulls and cleav-

99. "Hans . . . Phoenecians" is canceled with a large *X*.

100. "he . . . him" is written in the left margin to replace the preceding canceled passage.

101. The quotation from *King Richard III,* I, iv, 24–33, is written on the back of the page. Aside from slight differences in spelling and punctuation, the standard text has "Ten" not "A" in line 2, "in" not "at" in line 5, and "Which" not "That" in line 9 of Irving's citation.

102. "Cowl," a dialect term for a large water tub or vessel.

ing keels of a fleet of merchantmen bound for the Indias. How far he roved in this submarine journey no one can tell, ⟨for⟩ nor how long his wandering continued for Fairies have a command over time and space that baffles the calculations of human thought. Some say he visited the ruins of ⟨cities⟩ ↑mighty places↓ that lie at the bottom of the Ocean, the once splendid cities of the great Island of Atalantis.[103] That he walked thro' their ruined streets and beheld their shops still filled with merchandize of the fabric of the olden time, mingled with ⟨skeletons⟩ ↑bones↓ of the inhabitants in unknown garb. Great camps of armies swallowed up in the vast inundation, with thousands of warrior skeletons ⟨cased in armour⟩ shrunken & mouldering in their armour.[104]

⟨Hans Van Houten was conducted back safely to the island by his fairy guide, but was⟩ ↑He now became↓ ten times more thoughtful than ever. Here was countless and unimaginable wealth, ⟨he⟩ at his command, but of what avail was it, unless it could be carried to market.[105] He sat on a rock ⟨and he⟩ by the sea side[106] but heeded not his fairy companion, nor had any more pleasure in her blandishments. He eyed his broad round clamp built ship, at anchor in the bay. Could he but freight her with the precious merchandize which lay thus idly glittering in[107]

enquiries on the subject, and found that Mr Williams had received letters from his brother Charles, who had conversed with Irving & Smith; What had been the purport of their conversation I do not know, but its effect was to chill the confidence of the Williams' in Van Wart; and thus to take from him the plank on which he was swimming for life. I beg you will mention this to William: that he may see how necessary it is to be guarded in conversation respecting a friend even at three thousand miles distance.

Whatever may have been poor Vans past indiscretions he has suffered enough for them – heaven knows; and the *least* his friends can do to get him going again, is to give him the cheapest of all earthly gifts to the giver – a good word. But I have done with all remonstrances on this subject; According to the common maxim "trade must be left to regulate itself"

103. In the margin Irving wrote, "He beheld a sea fight in which ships came foundering to the bottom with all their crews."

104. The entire passage "many . . . armour," was crossed out by Irving.

105. In the margin Irving wrote, "Made calculations in the sand Scored them on trees with his knife."

106. Here Irving inserted, "his hands in his pockets, fumbling among pearls & diamonds."

107. In the margin Irving wrote, "calculated—the tonnage—weight of gold—all Rotterdam would not equal it[.] Whistled softly to himself with surprize."

Give my love to Eliza and the family and believe me my dear brother
Affectionately Yours
WI.[108]

P.S. In publishing a second edition of No 5. The Manuscript addition may be got onto the same quantity of paper by omitting the blank leaves or rather half titles between the articles – They are not necessary where the number is made up of one general article, such as Christmas. P.S. In page 429. of No. 5. I have restored the passage relating to the peacock pie but I cannot find the note belonging to it, ⟨You must have⟩ among my copies of the Mss. You of course must have it among the Mss scraps which were omitted – I wish it to be restored – & put at the bottom of the page as in the original Mss:[109]

Mrs Story's anecdote of a beautiful young girl in her neighbourhood – the daughter of a country Gent: Mrs S. say [*for* saw] her one day at the end of a lane that led to her fathers house – getting her fortune told by a Gypsey – The girl looking behind every moment to see that no body was coming or observing her.

Gypsey encampments at night on the border of woods; gypsey children about the fires[110] –

108. Part of an undated letter of Irving's to his brother Ebenezer. Apparently idle talk and gossip on the part of William Irving had hurt their brother-in-law, Henry Van Wart, whose bankruptcy occurred about the same time as that of P. & E. Irving. Charles and Samuel Williams were bankers of the London firm of Welles & Williams. The letter probably was written late in January, 1820. See *Letters*, I, 575–76. Eliza was Ebenezer's wife. William Irving and Smith were partners in an auctioneering firm in New York.

109. The passage relating to the peacock pie and half-page footnote is in "The Christmas Dinner," in *The Sketch Book* (Works, XIX, 315). Below Irving's postscript has been added in another hand "Sketch Book P. 286. The Christmas dinner Irving W Irving original." Irving had sent Ebenezer the manuscript for the fifth number of *The Sketch Book* on October 28, 1819, and it was published at the end of that year. Only the first number of the second American edition was dated 1819.

110. Mr. and Mrs. John Story, friends of Thomas Moore, knew Irving in Paris in 1821 and in London in 1824. Irving included two essays dealing with gypsies and fortune-telling in *Bracebridge Hall*, which are suggested by earlier jottings in the Haddon Hall manuscript. In "Gypsies" Phoebe Wilkins is seeking such prophecy "and often looking round to see that she was not observed" (*Works*, IV, 309). Below this passage in another hand "by W. Irving" and at left bottom of page "Sketch Book?"

TOUR IN SCOTLAND 1817

This journal, a combination of diary and notebook, consists of 2 volumes. Volume I is a brown leather notebook with flexible cover, 7 3/16 × 4½ inches, originally containing 64 sheets, or 128 pages, of which four sheets have been torn out.[1] The entries are in ink and pencil. A book plate indicates that it was once the property of William Harris Arnold, the nineteenth-century American collector. Volume II is a brown leather notebook 6⅜ × 4 inches, originally containing 58 sheets, or 116 pages, of which six sheets have been torn out. It has suffered some water damage. Both volumes were the gift of Preston Davie of New York City and are in the Rare Book Room of the Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[*inside front cover*]

30.2[2] 5.1.6
5.1.6
20 25. 6
12.10.3

2 vols [*not Irving's writing*]

[*rest of page upside down*]

⟨Recd of Mr Preston[3] 6/ 1£⟩
1
⟨freely⟩

Ed G [?]
pay for Prestons showy horn

1. On the outside front cover of volume 1: 1817 Aug 21/Scotland

2. These separate entries are random jottings and accounts. All entries in this journal are in ink unless otherwise indicated.

3. William C. Preston (1794–1860), a fellow American whom Irving had known some years, accompanied him on an excursion to Runcorn on June 23, 1817 (see p. 156), and now on the tour in Scotland. They remained lifelong friends. Preston later became United States senator from South Carolina. For his recollections of Irving see *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston*, ed. Minnie C. Yarborough (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933).

Send Trunk Lathan & Maury[4]
£ Coat
enquire about Professors Lodgings

Mr. A. Shirreff guide 3
Links

10–
Leith Grapes 4
1 – 6
18/ 6
6. 6
3
28
Main Castle

I paid 4 at Rush moorhill
1.1.6
10.6
1.6
1.6
13.6
6

[*pp. 1–4 are torn out*]

[*p. 5*]
Kilmarnock & Irvine – Cockburne 40 King St.
& Woods 93 Trosgate 5 Am – fare to Kilm[arnoc]k 7/
no money to Kilm – Irvine 8/6 5/6
Ayr – Mr Bains 3 Nelson St – 7 oclock –
routine 4 AM 12/ – 8/ –
Hamilton. Howats Sarac[e]ns Head
6 AM. 3/
Lanark 4. 10/6 8/–
Mail – Mr Bains. Hamilton &c 3 AM
not Lanark
[*rest of page upside down*]
Thats the best road but the river ⟨y⟩ takes you doon a wee bit road & then ye gae doon the brae [*unrecovered*]

4. James Maury, the American consul at Liverpool (1789–1837), sent Washington Irving to William C. Preston's bedside in Liverpool. After his recovery Preston joined Irving and his brother Peter for an excursion to Runcorn. See *ibid.*, pp. 32–36.

1.	.19.6	
1		
1		
3	19.6	
1	8 6	
2	11	0

[*p. 6 blank*]

[*p. 7*]

August 21, 1817[5]

Left London at ½ past 8. a.m. in the Smack Lively, Capt Wm Nesbitt, for Berwick on tweed.

I found the cabins crowded with men women & children, evidently of the inferior order – Weather rainy & uncomfortable. ⟨Felt rather dish wind⟩ Wind ahead – Felt rather disheartened at the prospect of a long, disagreeable voyage, in bad company: was consoled however by meeting with a fellow passenger more unhappy than myself. This was a respectabl⟨y⟩e looking man, middle age – brown Surtout – drab breeches & gaiters – umbrella & cane. He stood on the after part of the deck with a most unhappy aspect, watching the motley throng that was continually augmenting on board the smack. The corners of his mouth were drawn down, his nose ⟨drawn⟩ contracted, and there was a glance of indwelling misery from his eye and an ejaculated pish! whenever any thing went wrong ⟨at⟩ or a new passenger arrived. ⟨Found⟩ Learned afterwards that his name is Trotter,[6] native of Edinburgh – at present residing on the banks of a small stream that runs into the Tweed about ⟨10 m⟩ 13 miles above Berwick.

[*p. 8*]

Another passenger that I found companionable was a ⟨young⟩ ↑⟨M⟩ Scotchman↓ ⟨man⟩ about 30 who had been much abroad, particularly in the Mediterranean – was well informed: somewhat waggish and very entertaining.

We had on board a huge, broad shoulderd round bellied man about 55 years of age – named Isaac Allison: from Alniwick in Northumberland. He is a master fisherman, owns part in several vessels, and has

5. After a blank page the regular entries begin with Irving's departure from London. The precise dates of his stay there are not known, but he had been there about three weeks.

6. His traveling companions, Trotter and Allison, are mentioned in this part of the Journal and toward the end of the second volume. Trotter is not the general whom Irving described in detail in a letter to Brevoort, November 6, 1816. See *Letters*, I, 459–60.

probably been a desperate smuggler in his time. He has evidently been a powerful, active man; his limbs even now are well proportioned and indicate great strength. He was dressed in an old black coat; with huge skirts and unfathomable pockets – a black waistcoat – olive velvet breeches and black worsted stockings – ⟨a broad black hat⟩ After we set sail he exchanged his black coat for a snuff colourd cloth Jacket – which he buttoned tight round his immense carcass. He was an incessant smoker. He had been to London to assist the cause of his son; who was master of a smuggling vessel that had lately a [p. 9] desperate conflict with a revenue vessel, in which several were killed on both sides. The Smugglers were acquittd it appearing that the revenue vessel fired twice into them without shewing colours.

Old Allison had the true Northumbrian burr and pronounced *r* like *ur* –

Our captain was a stout, healthy looking fellow of 40. with ruddy cheeks, blue eyes – an aquiline nose, and curley yellowish hair – a face indicating a fellow that had been full of frolick & wenching in his younger days.

There was also an old highlander on board of the name of Willie Symes; who had tended herds on the Grampian Hills. He was a singular compound of simplicity and cunning.

He had the broad Scotch accent & dialect, and told us he had seen Norvals[7] grave, and Macbeths cassel – That he had had mony a crack wi the present Laird o' Dunsinain, who is as himmil a body as eer you saw in aa your life – He will talk wi a queer body jist like an auld wife, an yet he has an *awfu* knowledge ⟨of⟩ o' the Law."[8]

[*p. 10*]

The old man was a firm believer in witches fairies and warlocks. "Not that theyre owr plenty nowadays; but they abunded in auld times, when the warld was in Obscurity before the Scriptures had broke out ony thing great."

⟨The captain⟩ Old Allison ⟨was⟩ and one or two other passengers were full of their pranks upon the old grampian hero. Hiding away his mull[9] at which he at length got very wroth – though they tried to per-

7. Norval, the hero of John Home's popular play *The Tragedy of Douglas or the Noble Shepherd* (1756). The declamatory lines were well known: "My Name is Norval: on the Grampian hills,/My father feeds his flocks" (II, i). Irving's friend, J. H. Payne, had made his debut in this role in 1809.

8. Irving wrote "himmil" for "hummil," the Scottish form of humble, to represent the Scottish pronunciation. He repeats most of this entry about the old highlander in the second volume (see p. 160) as Willie Symes' anecdote of the laird of Dunsinane which is ascribed to Scott in similar language by his caretaker, Johnny Bower. See "Abbotsford," in *Crayon Miscellany* (*Works*, VIII, 261).

9. Snuff box. Irving repeats the end phrase concerning "something no canny about the box" in Volume II (p. 160 below).

suade him there must be some witchcraft in it and that there was something "no canny about the box."

The first two days of our voyage were tedious – with rain & head winds. On Sunday 24th. we had a fine fresh breeze and the vessel ploughed bravely through the waters – Fine sunny afternoon and moonlight night.

Monday morning, August 25

Fine smacking breeze – vessel goes at the rate of 9 miles an hour. Have an indistinct view of the Northumbrian coast, ⟨As th⟩ shrouded in clouds & mist. As ⟨they⟩ the day [*p. 11*] advances they break away. See the village of Bomer[10] at a distance – Then Dunstanborough castle, on a rocky height

> And next they crossed themselves to hear
> The whitening breakers sound so near,
> Where boiling through the rocks they roar
> On Dunstanboroughs cavernd shore.
>
> *Marmion*[11]

We afterwards passed near to Bamborough castle; which stands bleakly and with an air of wild solitary grandeur on the sea coast. Opposite to it is a picturesque island called Fearne island.[12]

> Thy tower proud Bamborough marked they there
> King Idas castle, huge & square
> From its tall rock look grimly down
> And on the swelling ocean frown.
>
> Marmion[13] –

From hence we were wafted on past Holy Island; ⟨where the⟩ ↑scene of the↓ trial of Constance de Beverly in Marmion.[14] Saw the remains

10. Probably Barmoor, a little village about six miles inland in northern Northumberland.

11. *Marmion*, canto 2, lines 144–47. *The Complete Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, Cambridge Edition (New York, 1912), p. 101. Dunstanburgh Castle is near Embleton.

12. Farne Island. Bamborough Castle is about ten miles south of Berwick.

13. *Marmion*, canto 2, lines 148–51. Both quotations were cited in Irving's letter, dated Edinburgh, August 26, 1817, to his brother Peter, describing the excursion. See *Letters*, I, 491.

14. "Constance de Beverley they know,
Sister profess'd of Fontevraud,
Whom the Church number'd with the dead,
For broken vows and convent fled." . . .

The trial is recounted in *Marmion*, canto 2, lines 381–634.

of the Monastery of St. Cuthbert: now apparently converted into ⟨some sort⟩ ↑a↓ of[15] residence ⟨for⟩ either for fishermen or for those who watch the beacons. [*p. 12*] About 12 Oclock we arrived at Berwick–

Dangerous entrance to the harbour. Long mole of Stone erecting – The Tweed is here crossed by a long & picturesque bridge built by one of the James's. Stopped at the Red Lion. Mr Trotter accompanied me in a ramble about the old walls of the town. Fine view from ⟨the one⟩ an angle of the old works. See the town & port below you with the bridge stretching across the river – the Northumbrian Hills beyond – and a wide expanse of ocean on the other Side the Tweed winding between naked banks. Old watch towers on the side of the town towards Scotland.

After dinner I left Berwick in a coach for Edinburgh.[16] Pass through Dunbar.

See an old border town ⟨on⟩ ↑near↓ the road; and the ruins of Traprain Convent at the foot of the singular hill of that name the top of which was coverd with clouds.

[*p. 13*]

Road winds through solitary, naked Hills – possessing something of the stern bleakness of welsh scenery – then through the rich fields of Lothian loaded with grain –

Arrive at Edinburgh late at night[17] – ⟨the⟩ Night stormy with heavy rain. Put up at MacGregors Hotel Princes Street.

Tuesday, August 26

After Breakfast cross to the Old town. The morning bright & sunny, with large masses of clouds that give fine variety of light & shade. ⟨rem⟩ Edinburgh remarkably picturesque & romantic in its general appearance. Smoke rising from houses between new & old town, & lighted up by the morning sun, gives a fine aerial ⟨has effect⟩ effect to the Rock & Castle & throws the old town into masses.

Lindesfarne or Holy Island, where St. Cuthbert became bishop, is linked with the fate of the nun and is described in *Marmion*.

15. After canceling "some sort" and interlining "a," Irving neglected to delete "of" preceding "residence."

16. In "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817" (p. 175) Irving records: "Leave Berwick at 2 o'clock in coach for Edinburgh." The letter to his brother Peter, dated Edinburgh, August 26, explains: ". . . about twelve o'clock I landed at Berwick. I had intended proceeding from thence to Kelso, and so on to Melrose, &c; but I found there would be no coach in that direction until Wednesday; so I determined to come to Edinburgh direct, and visit Melrose from thence" (*Letters*, I, 491).

17. "Get into Edinburgh 10 o'clock at night under heavy rains" ("Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 175).

Constable, the Booksellers Shop – a dark ⟨dingy⟩ low, dingy shop – I passed it at first without noticing it, expecting to find a spacious, striking book shop[18] –

NB. *Murrays shop* is equally unimposing tho' more fashionably situated & elegant in its [*p. 14*] air.[19] Murray has a sign up –

Calton Hill – Magnificent Panorama from it. The Old & New town below you on one side – Holy Rood house[20] & the romantic height of Arthurs Seat on another – & the Forth & wide expanse of water on another.

Dined with Mr Jeffrey, Mrs Renwicks brother[21]

Wednesday, August 27

Charlotte Square, the finest Square in Edinburgh –

The New town of Edinburgh is quite ⟨removd from the⟩ distinct from the old & merely connected by Bridges – It is the drawing room, the other the office – The fashionable world all reside together – and are quite brought into each others neighbourhood – The streets are so spacious, clean & well paved that there is no need of ⟨coaches⟩ wheel carriages for the purposes of fashionable visiting –

Walked out with Mr John Jeffrey to his brother Francis Jeffreys to dinner.[22] Romantic views of Edinburgh from different parts of the road.

18. Archibald Constable (1774–1827) was the Edinburgh publisher, to whom Scott recommended *The Sketch Book* in 1819. In 1825 Irving declined Constable's invitation to write a biography of George Washington. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 506, 509, 511.

19. The shop of John Murray (1778–1843) at 50 Albemarle Street in London who became Irving's friend and publisher. Irving dined at Murray's, August 16, 1817. See "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 201. For a detailed account of their relations see Ben Harris McClary, ed., *Washington Irving and the House of Murray* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969).

20. Holyrood Palace, the former royal residence of Queen Mary, was the scene of the murder of David Rizzio in 1566. From Calton Hill Irving could look beyond the palace to the mountain called Arthur's Seat and the waters of the Firth of Forth below.

21. John Jeffrey, a merchant, was a younger brother of Francis Jeffrey, the distinguished critic and editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. His sister, Jane Jeffrey Renwick, was the widow of William Renwick of New York. Irving was an intimate friend of the family and made his "Tour in Wales" with her son. See *Letters from Washington Irving to Mrs. William Renwick, and to her son, James Renwick, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Columbia University, written between September 10th, 1811 and April 5th, 1816* (Printed for private distribution, n.d.). See *Letters*, I, 324–31, 343–47, 348–50, 403–12, 440–41.

22. Francis Jeffrey (1773–1850) had been in America in 1813–1814 but did not meet Irving then. For accounts of Jeffrey's journey and his opinions on America see Lord Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey with a Selection from His Correspondence*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1852), I, 246; II, 49, 147, 183–85, 188, 372, 381. Jeffrey, in a

[*p. 15*]

Jeffrey has a lease for 32 years of a property held in mortmain about 3 miles from Edinbg ↑called Craigcrook.↓ It is a very old Mansion – near 300 years old built of Stone, in the castellated form with tower & turrets – very picturesque – situated at the foot of a beautiful range of well wooded hills – Jeffrey has made great additions & improvements to the house and is ⟨laying⟩ ornamenti[n]g the grounds with great taste.

Jeffrey very pleasant & hospitable in his own house, & apparently very amiable & happy in his domestic character.

Speaking of America, Jeffrey observed that he found more Luxury, & comfort in the style of living than he had expected. Disliked the ⟨tone of con⟩ virulent political discussions that prevailed at table – the Violent party feeling that prevented gentlemen of different parties from associating. Thinks our girls brought into company too early – makes them flippant & ignorant. Seems to have been most pleased in N. Y. with Wells & P. A. Jay.[23] The former did not say much but talked well – the latter seemd frank & independent in his opinions and found fault promptly with any thing or person he did not like – [*p. 16*] Jeffrey delighted with Scotts novels[24] – thinks them the best things that have appeared in his time.

There seems to be no doubt here that Scott is the author. It is said that Scott has traversed over the ground of all his novels & has lived among the people, diligently draw[in]g characters & manners. He is described by J as being Social, Joyous, full of anecdote[,] of irrepressible good spirits, picturesque & mimic – not over fastidious in his taste for story telling – fond of a broad joke occasionally & quite a merry hearted man –

[*p. 17*]

Thursday, August 28

Visit Edinburgh Castle ⟨and Holyrood house.⟩ Scarcely any ⟨the⟩ part of the old building left. Barracks of Stone built at great expense and in deploreably mistaken style. ⟨Sco⟩ Grecian style – Had they been

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letter of May 6, 1822, to Mrs Colden of New York, wrote: "Washington Irving is rather low spirited and silent in mixed company, but is agreeable, I think, tête à tête, and is very gentle and amiable. He is a good deal in fashion, and has done something to deserve it" (*ibid.*, II, 206). As editor of the *Edinburgh Review* Jeffrey was feared for his merciless, often vitriolic reviews.

23. John Wells (1770–1823) was a distinguished lawyer and controversialist. Peter Augustus Jay (1776–1840) was a lawyer, jurist, and state legislator.

24. Jeffrey had reviewed *Waverley* (1814) in the *Edinburgh Review*. *Guy Mannering* appeared in 1815, *The Antiquary*, *The Black Dwarf*, and *Old Immortality* in 1816.

castellated ⟨would⟩ they would have given a grand finish to this warrior rock.

Passing thro high street see the window from which Knox held forth[25] – Also the windows of the ⟨attick⟩ attic room, (⟨7 stories⟩ seven stories high) where Hume wrote the history of England[26] –

Holyrood house. Queen Marys rooms The effect in thus treading on the heels of antiquity – seems to obliterate the space of time between us – as if we hear the very sound of the steps of former ages – like Pompeia –

Different pictures of poor Mary in her different periods of life – rich crimson when young & happy in france - Black when dressed for Execution

[*p. 18*]

Dined at Jeffreys. Was disappointed in not meeting with Dugald Stewart.[27] His Wife & Daughter ↑were↓ there, but he was ⟨deterred⟩ prevented by some circumstance from coming. M^rs^ Stewart is author of the beautiful Song – *"The tears I shed must ever fall"*[28] – Of the party were –

Lady Davy formerly M^rs^ Apreece – a belle esprite.[29] Talks charmingly – was full of anecdote of the french court, both Bonapartes and Bourbon.

25. John Knox (1505–1572) is erroneously believed to have lived in this house on the High Street in the years 1560–1572.

26. Probably the home in St. James's Court where David Hume (1711–1776) lived and wrote his *History of England* (1754–1761).

27. Dugald Stewart (1753–1828) the Scottish philosopher. Irving, in a letter to his brother Peter, dated August 26, 1817, expressed his delight at the prospect of meeting him: "Jeffrey tells me I am lucky in meeting with Dugald Stewart, as he does not come to Edinburgh above once in a month" (*Letters*, I, 492). A letter of September 1, 1817, from Abbotsford reported: "I was disappointed in my expectation of meeting with Dugald Stewart at Mr. Jeffrey's; Some circumstance prevented his coming; though he had Mrs. and Miss Stewart" (*Letters*, I, 500).

28. A five stanza song (of which Robert Burns composed the first four lines of the last stanza) by Miss Cranston, who became the second wife of Dugald Stewart in 1790. See *Notes on Scottish Song By Robert Burns, written in an interleaved copy of the Scots Musical Museum with Additions by Robert Riddell and Others*, ed. J. C. Dick (London, 1908), p. 59.

29. Lady Jane Davy, née Kerr (1780–1855), became the wife of Sir Humphrey Davy, noted English chemist and physicist, after the death of her first husband, Sir Shuckburgh Ashby Apreece. She was a prominent figure in the society of Rome and London and was commended by Mme. de Staël. Irving wrote in the same letter of September 1, 1817: "Lady Davy was in excellent spirits and talked like an angel. In the evening when we collected in the drawing room, she held forth for upwards of an hour; the company drew round her and seemed to listen in mute pleasure—even Jeffrey seemed to keep his colloquial powers in [*unrecovered*] check to give her full chance" (*Letters*, I, 500).

Mdme La Voissier late Comtess de Rumford – a hideous, coarse featured, ill dressed, fiercely painted woman, but apparently good humoured & full of spirits.[30]

Dubourgh Danish Minister of Irish extraction – Polite old Gentleman & smoothly spoken.

Lord Webbe Seymour, man of model & simple manners & appearance; amiable manners; very fond of Geology[31] –

Mr Underwood, who was for many years as detenu[32] in france which he says has made him good for nothing for the rest of his life – having forced upon him idle habits –

[*p. 19*]

Mr Murray a solicitor – &c –

Rogers the poet,[33] when in Italy was called by the servants *Rogero* – at another place *Heaveno di Memoria* –

He is very pale & meagre and has a doleful appearance – at one watering place or country party he complained of the place being so full that he could not find where to lay his head – a wag demanded – cant he find a church yard? –

Murray told a story of a party at Mr Kelleys – ancestor of Lord Kellys[34] – in ⟨the⟩ ↑former↓ days ⟨of⟩ when the conviviality of the table was carried to great excess. The party had been at hard drinking for two or three days – when one of the party ⟨ob⟩ regarding another one the other end of the table for some time – who was leaning back in his chair, his eyes fixed, his ⟨mouth⟩ jaw fallen – ⟨exclaimed⟩ ↑requested↓ ⟨to⟩ the person next the other to jog [?] his neighbor for he looks so gash[35] I fear à is na canny wi him – Hoot mon says the other hes been

30. Madame Lavoisier, the widow of the distinguished French chemist, had married Benjamin Thompson (1753–1814), better known as Count Rumford, in 1805, but they separated amicably in 1809.

31. Lord Webb John Seymour (1777–1819), brother of Edward Adolphus (1775–1855), eleventh duke of Somerset, was one of the editorial associates of the *Edinburgh Review*.

32. "Detenu" ("a prisoner"), especially used of a political prisoner. Perhaps he was "interned"' during the Napoleonic era.

33. Irving's lifelong friendship with Samuel Rogers (1763–1855) began in 1820 and Irving benefited from his social prestige and his literary reputation, which was established with the great popularity of *The Pleasures of Memory* (1792).

34. David Stewart Erskine (1742–1829), eleventh earl of Buchan, had purchased in 1786 the estate of Dryburgh with its ruined abbey. He was a descendant of the earls of Kellie.

35. "Grim," "ghastly."

dead these twa hours but I ⟨did na but thoght⟩ thought best not to mention it as it might mar good company.

[*p. 20*]

↑Murray told↓ a still more extravagant story of a nother family famous in the olden time for good living. They kept open house. The rush[36] was always going on – ⟨A large bowl of punch⟩ A punch Bowl of mighty dimensions was never sufferd to be empty and all comers were welcome – the family relieved each other and there was a perpetual session – One day a stranger, as was customary, rode up to the portal gave his horse in charge to a Servant until he should refresh himself, and took his seat at the hospitable board. So well he like the cheer that there he sat – day after day, month after month – year after year – until taking umbrage at something that occurred – he called ⟨for⟩ a servant & orderd his horse in high dudgeon – troth your honour replied the latter yere steeds been dead these three years –

[*p. 21 blank*]

[*p. 22*]

A genius that sprang from one of the vigorous embraces of nature by the wayside

[*p. 23*]

Preston story of his uncle telling a learned lady of a gentl riding hard [–] falling & breaking his leg short off – tied it up rode home & next day it was as well as ever – never had any pain in it since – Lady endeavours to account for it. aftr some time, I by frend on new one – I should have mentiond it was a wooden Leg. A wooden head Sir

Young N. in love with little print of a ladies foot[37]

[*p. 24 full page sketch labeled* "Dumbarton."]

[*p. 25 blank*]

[*p. 26*]

Dungeon tower at Ayr[38] – Twilight – Guards in high helmets with

36. "Merrymaking" is an older meaning of the word.

37. This idea is developed in "Mountjoy" in *Wolfert's Roost*. See *Works*, XXVII, 70–71; also p. 116 and n. 86. "Preston . . . foot" is written in pencil.

38. S. T. Williams' itinerary of Irving's tour with Preston shows them to be at Ayr, September 17 and 18. See *Tour in Scotland and Other Manuscript Notes by Washington Irving*, ed. Stanley T. Williams (New Haven, 1927) pp. 10–12. Irving's interest in Burns was temporary, but memories of this visit remained. See "Abbotsford" (*Works*, VIII, 268–69). The Dungeon tower where Wallace is said to have been imprisoned, no longer exists, but in its place the Wallace Tower was built in 1832.

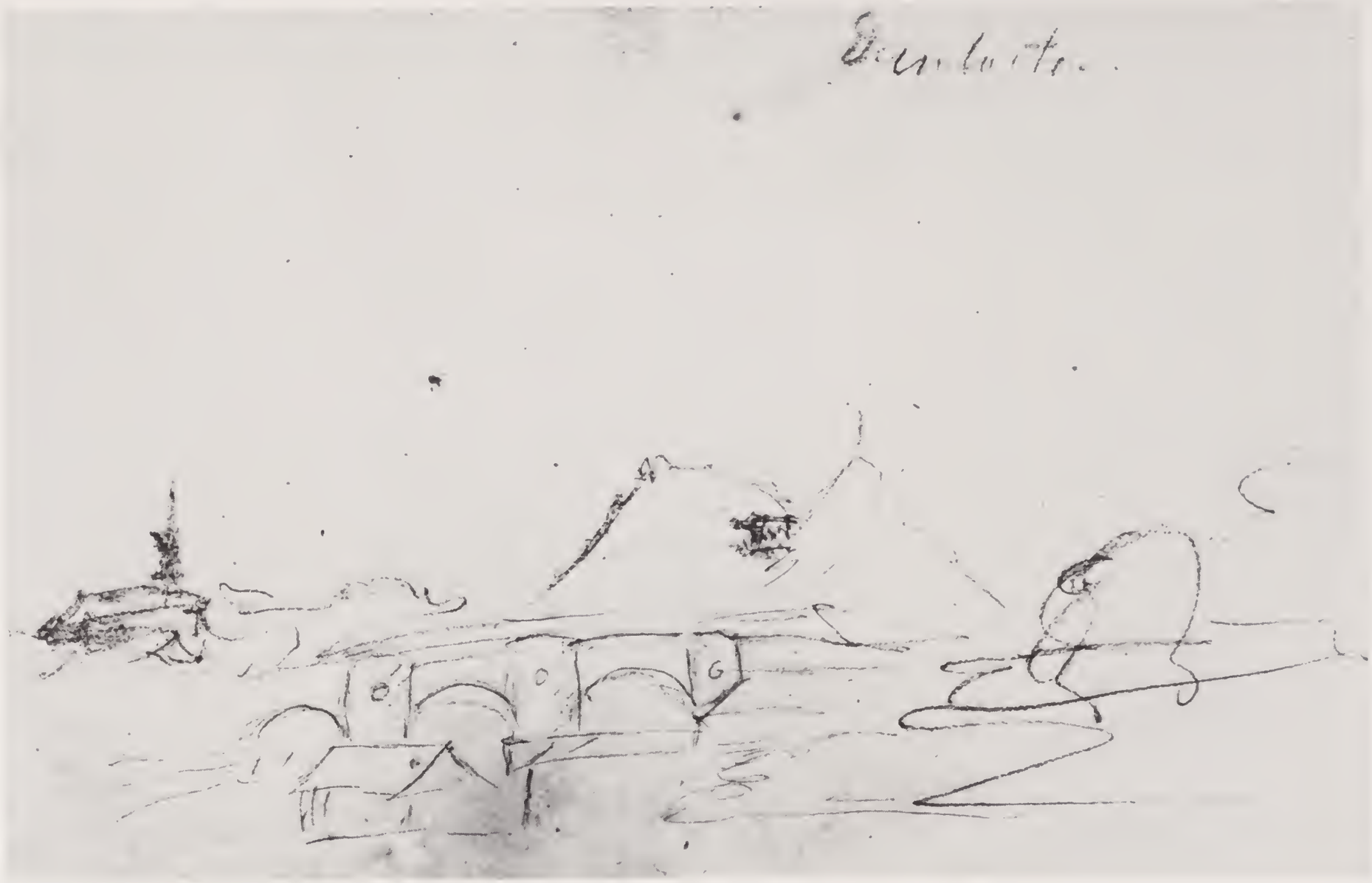


Figure 1. Sketch of "Dumbarton," appearing on page 24 of "Tour in Scotland."

long horsehair crests slowly pacing backwards & forwards on a kind of terrace in front. Tower Dark & massive – large archd door way thro which is seen a murky light – Soldier going up the broad flight of steps – lazily, with military garment thrown across his musket

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Twilight. At foot of Old Tower called the Castle of Forth – ⟨Not⟩ Sky clear & mellow over head – a smoky horizon – distant sound of the bugle – notes of the bagpipe – distant shrill shouts of children at play – tower of Brown stone stands lonely on a common – bark of a dog ⟨moon⟩ – half moon rising ⟨shews⟩ – enlarged by smoky horizon one side of the tower with a [*p. 27*] grand sunset at Ayr – Bridges &c port – like a Claude Lorraine[39] even[in]g

Mellow dubious light from the last lingerings of day. the other sides dark[40]

[*p. 28 blank*]

[*p. 29*]
Man must be aspiring: ambition belongs to his nature. ⟨The soul is continually stretching after⟩ He cannot rest content ⟨with present circumstances⟩ but is continually reaching after higher attainments ⟨of an⟩ and more felicitous conditions. To rest satisfied with the present is a sign of an abject spirit – it is the attribute of the soul to ⟨soar after illimitable [–] stretch upwards to higher loftier regions of⟩ continually to spring upwards and seek after perfections unattainable in this short life – it is a proof of its immortality – Every being has the propensity towards that state for which it is created – ⟨while⟩ some animals never ⟨look⟩ raise their eyes above the earth on which they are ⟨destined to crawl⟩ destined to grovel – while the young eaglet ⟨beats its⟩ darts upwards his keen gaze, ⟨beats⟩ balances his wings & shews all the aspiring propensities of a bird that is one day to soar into the skies.[41]

[*p. 30 blank*]

[*p. 31*]
Wallaces Cave – Craig[42]

39. Claude Lorraine (real name Claude Gelée, 1600–1682), French landscape painter.

40. "Dungeon . . . dark" is written in pencil.

41. Irving often indulged in such philosophizing.

42. On a blank page covered with show-through from the page before, these three words are upside down at the bottom. Other references to Wallace are on pp. 114, 115.

N—— was a man of Society – buoyant and communicative. He visitd universally – and was continually abroad. He dissipated himself upon society and had no time for reflection.

He impaired his dignity of character – for such is the ungratefulness of society that it always esteems those least who are most devoted to it.

A more ⟨dignified ch⟩ reserved character, one who lives more with & more for himself is much more dignified & much more respected. Yet I scarcely know whether he is as useful. He is like a stream that runs in ⟨regular⟩ one deep channel, possessing dignity of flow & singleness of character. The other like a stream diverted into a garden & distributed into rills that ⟨run a⟩ visit every flower – the former is most beautiful in itself – the latter is diffusive in its benefits & ⟨refreshes & gladdens⟩ spreads freshness and cheerfulness around.

[*p.* 32]

There is an ⟨disposit[ion]⟩ endeavour among some of the writers of the day (who fortunately have not any great weight) to introduce into poetry all the common colloquial phrazes and vulgar idioms – ⟨They⟩ In their rage for Simplicity they would be coarse and commonplace. Now the Language of poetry cannot be too pure and choice. Poems are like classical edifices, for which we seek the noblest materials – ⟨It would be a⟩ What should we think of the Arts of the architect who would build a Grecian temple of brick when he could get marble[43] –

Leigh Hunts Rimini[44] shews a heterogeneous taste – in which a fondness for gorgeous material is mingled up with an occasional proneness to the most grotesque – we fancy him a common stone mason with dirty apron & trowel inhand sometimes building with marble & sometimes with rubbish –

[*p.* 33]

His writings are like those edifices which one occasionally sees in italy – where the architect has purloined the fragments of ancient tables and ⟨you see sometimes the a fragment of rich cornice masoned into a wall with common stones⟩ mingled these with his own rubbish in building his walls –

[*p. 34 blank*]

43. Irving's conventional judgments of literature made him averse to the poetry of Wordsworth and his followers.

44. Leigh Hunt's long poem *The Story of Rimini* (1816). Irving refers to him and the figure of the "stone mason" also in "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," pp. 180–81.

[*p.* 35]

Noble avenues of trees to old family mansions – like sylvan collonades – grand & imposing effect –

Old style of gardening – ⟨Ballustrades of cumbrous magnificence⟩ flights of steps [–] artificial terraces – statues – urns – cumbrous ballustrades of stone with occasionally a peacock with its long glittering train –

Asthmatical fellows request that there should be no stone built over his grave but a railing to keep people from trampling on him[45]

[*p.* 36]

Daughter of Curran[46] engaged to Emmet who was hanged for Treason. Her father ⟨to shew⟩ fearing his loyalty should be suspected literally turned her out of doors. She was received into the home of friends – Her brokenheartedness – ⟨lead to p⟩ pined away. At masquerade where others were gay she would sit down on the steps of orchestra and sing a little simple melancholy air with such pathos as to draw a crowd round her & melt every one into tears. She was addressed by an officer in the army but declined his addresses [–] her heart was buried in Emmets grave. He persisted & married her. Went to Sicily – she however pined away & died – of a broken heart – Moors verses to her memory.[47]

– Instances of women dieng of love I believe are ⟨very common much more⟩ frequent. They pine in thought & waste away [–] their death is attributd to other causes, but it is the sting of death that preys on their spirits [–] makes them neglect all the cheerful exercises that gladden the spirits & diffuse ⟨the⟩ healthful animation

[*p.* 37]

Men dissipate their griefs in the bustle & business of the world. Women are more lonely – secluded – their life is more ⟨like⟩ a life of sentiment & affections. Early deaths of consumption may often be traced to the effects of disappointed love, preying on the heart ⟨& undermining the⟩ destroy[in]g the rest necessary for the body and drying up the blood –

Man rushs into society – woman like ⟨the stricken⟩ ↑stricken dove↓

45. "Asthmatical . . . him" is written in pencil.

46. Sarah, the daughter of John Philpot Curran (1750–1817), Irish statesman and lawyer, was in love with Robert Emmet (1778–1803), the Irish patriot. Irving copied his farewell speech. See pp. 128–29 and n. 120.

47. Thomas Moore's verses "She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps," and "Oh! breathe not his name," were inspired by this tragic love affair. Irving's reflections and narrative utilizing these notes are found in "The Broken Heart," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 101–8).

wounded ↑bird↓ dove ⟨seeks the⟩ carries her miseries into solitude, ⟨and⟩ broods over the inward pang and pines away in silence.

[*p.* 38]

That break down the ⟨hardness of⟩ pride of man⟨kind⟩ & the hard wind of[48] –

He'll one day get the post obit reward of an author. hell die by & bye & then theyl give him a funeral & build him a monument[49]

[*p.* 39]

There is something in sickness that softens the heart & brings it back to the ⟨feelin⟩ tender feelings of childhood. Who that has sufferd in advanced life in sickness or sorrow & loneliness but has thought of the mother that looked on his childhood [–] that smo[o]thed his pillow of sickness & admin[i]st[er]ed to his helplessness

The purest & strongest affection that winds itself round the human heart is that between the mother & the son: – she will sacrifice all her comforts for him – she will love & cherish him in adversity – in disgrace – when all the world beside casts him off she will be all the world to him – She loses all the selfishness of human nature

[*p. 40*]

As George told his story the old woman would look wistfully in his face – adjust his neckcloth –– ⟨He⟩ It wil[l] yet be easd [–] she looked fondly at him as if she would fain read confirmation in his countenance but death had written his doom to[o] strongly there even for a mothers hope – a hectic colour on his cheek.

His manly frankness as he talked with his mother as he dies

When I saw her feebly ⟨returnd⟩ quitting the church yard & leaving behind her the moulding reliques of all that was dear on earth – returning to silence & destitution – ⟨I⟩ my heart yearned over her – What are the distresses of the rich – they have friends to sooth [–] pleasures to beguile – a crowd to divert & distract them [–] smiles to rob sorrow of its sting & heaven of its vindication – but the sorrows of the [*p. 41*] poor – who have lost all that could sweeten the cup of life – the sorrows of a solitary ageed destitute widow over an only son.

I must pursue the story to the last scene tho the very remembrance melts me

48. "That . . .—" is written in pencil.

49. The lines "He'll . . . monument" are upside down at the bottom of the page. Irving expressed his opinions on literary reputations in "Buckthorne and his Friends," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works*, XXI, 143–288).

What are the distresses of the yo[u]ng – the lively spirit pours its balsam into the wound[50]

[*p. 42 blank*]

[*p. 43*]

Old Mr Ross of Ross river[,] father of Genl Ross who was killed at Baltimore;[51] was the ⟨patron⟩ great ⟨patron⟩ ↑man↓ of a small neighbourhood in Ireland – ⟨They⟩ There was a protestant ⟨chapel⟩ ↑church↓ there, but the congregation was small, as ⟨it was⟩ the lower classes in the vicinity were principally catholic – the ⟨clergyman⟩ parson had a high deference for Mr Ross, who was the patron of the church. The latter would sometimes fall asleep during the service. The clergyman out of respect to his patron would pause in his sermon. ⟨The ↑old↓ Ross would⟩ The old gent would wake & exclaim with a gentle wave of the hand – go on sir go on – I'm with you –

[*p. 44*]

⟨At⟩ A small catholic chapel in Ireland ⟨the⟩ being nearly built[,] the Bishop came down to consecrate it – In the mean time however service had been performed in it – The Bishop asked how they came to perform service in it before it was consecrated – oh please your honour it has been consecrated – Consecrated & who consecrated it. Macomb please your worship – Macomb – & who the devil consecrated Macomb –

Family of Little ones. father seeming like the parent bird that roams the earth in quest of food

[*p. 45*]

When dust has returned to dust & the very moment becomes a ruin for the memory of man passes away – he returns to dust & his very monument becomes a ruin[52]

50. Certain parts of these notes, beginning with "There is something . . ." were used almost verbatim in "The Widow and Her Son," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 148–58). "There . . . wound" is written in pencil.

51. General Robert Ross (1776–1814), commander of the expeditionary force in the United States in 1814, was responsible for the burning of Washington and was killed in a subsequent attack upon Baltimore.

52. Irving adapted the sentiment, "his history is as a tale that is told, and his very monument becomes a ruin," for the closing words of "Westminster Abbey," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 253).

[*p. 46*]

Apollo of Belvedere[53] [–] french copies of it ⟨all⟩ taken successively [–] all approximating nearly to each other until they came down to a Bullfrog – so reports passing from mouth to mouth.[54]

[*p. 47*]

January 1818.

At Springfield, Birmingham[55] – remarkable frosty morning – there had been fog which was precipitated by the ⟨fros⟩ cold and coverd all the trees & every blade of grass with ⟨chrystalization⟩ frost. like fine snow –

[*p. 48*]

Old Dutch Farmer near Jamaica (LI). benevolent – Justice of the peace – only had one culprit before him – his trouble of mind – culprit escapes, great Joy of the justice (peck of straw & the culprit) everything raised & manufacturd on the farm for house supplies –

Go to his daughters to Tea – Hot cakes. Sweetmeats, honey – pie &c &c –

VanNess & the Seat at Kinderhook[56] – old farm house – Big tree & spring – Jesse Marvin. Old Hoos. ⟨At⟩ The Congressman &c[57] –

The purest waters of contentment flow from those ⟨returnd⟩ well springs that are found in the secluded spots of domestic life – but he who seeks to drink out of the capricious stream of public favour will too often find the channel dry & dusty –

[*At this point Irving turned notebook around and continued his entries from back to front.*]

[*p. 125 shows a faint sketch of Ben Ledi]*

53. The marble statue in the Belvedere of the Vatican is a Roman copy of a Greek original in bronze.

54. "When . . . mouth" is written in pencil.

55. Irving was at the home of his sister, Mrs. Henry Van Wart, who lived in Icknield Street West, Birmingham. Irving wrote Springfield, instead of Spring Hill, a section near the home. See STW, I, 418, n. 11. This is the only entry dated 1818 in these notebooks.

56. Judge William P. Van Ness (ca. 1778–1826) was a protégé and friend of Aaron Burr. His country house at Kinderhook became the residence of Martin Van Buren after he retired from the presidency.

57. Jesse Merwin, the original of Ichabod Crane, and Congressman Van Alen were members of the group enjoying the hospitality of Judge Van Ness. Hoos was a common name in that area. Irving recalled their youthful escapades in a letter to Merwin, dated February 12, 1851 (PMI, IV, 81–83).

[*p. 124*]
Saturday, September 13

Lochearne Head[58] – glorious sunrise – s[un] rises at lower end of the lake full in view of our chamber windows

Leave Lochearne head 7 oclock. ride by – ⟨Stra Strat⟩ mountain pass See the Braes of Balquhidder on our left – grand mountain glen – small lake of Lubnaig surrounded by grand mountains – Ben Ledi at lower end – silver sheet of water. road passes along its banks – pass picturesque height on which the chapel of St Bride used to stand – vide Scotts Lady of the lake[59] – ride along the Teith – Ben Ledi on our left – ⟨pass⟩ thro the pass of Lennie – waterfalls bridge &c [–] came to Callander – Country opens – Teith flows past Callander. Breakfast ⟨at Caallad⟩ ↑here↓ After breakfast ride by ford of Coilantogle &c &c to Stewarts where we have been and go thro Trossachs to Loch Katrin – beautiful day. Ramble about the Lake[,] visit the island &c and return to Stewarts where we pass the night

[*p. 123*]

Numerous echoes on lake Katrin opposite BenVenue –

Stewart – sturdy highlander. Old Beggar in chimney corner to whom Stewart gives a bed because he said he would fight for prince charles if necessary –

On asking Stewart if we could be accommodatd – ⟨Ow aiy⟩ Ow, ay, ai can gie ye plenty to eat and a stretch out – & some kine or ither – Told him we were easy satisfied Oh if your travellers Im no feard – but some time these saucy southern folk are hard to please – told him we were americans – Oh he never found an American yet that could not be content with any thing –

Large fire place [–] Old beggar with plaid – gray hair &c 79

Old Beggar & Stewart also affirm that Bonaparte is a ⟨descendant of⟩ son of [*blank*] Roy Stewart who accompaind prince Charles – left his country [*p. 122*] and changed his name – Thinks the Stewarts will yet return –

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58. Lochearnhead on Loch Earn. Beginning with this entry the writing is in pencil up to notation "Aug. 30."

59. Irving was deeply interested in places associated with Scott's writings: "When rose Benledi's ridge in air . . ." (*The Lady of the Lake*, canto 1, line 105). "A blithesome rout that morning-tide/Had sought the chapel of Saint Bride . . ." (*ibid.*, canto 3, lines 478–79).

Approach to Trossachs – ⟨fin⟩ beautiful view of Loch Achray from opening between two knolls – Knolls with ⟨beaut⟩ birch [–] interval[e] coverd with heath

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Shiehallion[60]

Bedroom – earth floor. two Beds or recesses with curtains – Large clock – wooden corner cupboard [–] two queer pictures by some tyro – of a highlander & lass

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Book of Stories of Loch Katrine with Buchanan of Baltimores name in[61] –

Stewart – reddish ⟨curl⟩ short curly hair – rather thin on top – stout middle sized man – roman nose

[*p. 121*]
Large fire place – bench and chairs in corner Dogs &c

September 14

Sunday Morning – fine summer weather – joined by two young ↑men↓ ⟨Germans⟩ & two ↑younger[?]↓ Scotsmen – discharge the gig & take boat for head of Loch catrine. ⟨land at⟩ Bugle sound among the hills – land at Cauldbairn – grand solitary glen between Loch Katrin & Loch Lomond – about half way from high part of the road see loch Katrine – with summit of Ben Ledi – Ben Venue &c – on other hand dark Mountains of Loch Lomond 3 Bens – Little loch of [*blank*][62]

[*A sketch of mountains at bottom of p. 121. Another sketch at top of p. 120*]

Inversneid fort – on a rising ground – Delta formed by two brooks – Grand view of Benvorlich – Gate way oak, large lock & bolts. large holes in walls. old swivel on angle [–] flanking towers at two corners – across

60. Shiehallion, a mountain in Pertshire, about eleven miles northwest of Aberfeldy. "Approach . . . Shiehallion," written at the top of the page, is encircled to show that Irving intended it to follow ". . . yet return—"

61. A reference either to George Buchanan (1698?–1750), a physician and jurist, who helped to found the city of Baltimore, or to George Buchanan (1763–1808), a physician and author, who was a city magistrate of Baltimore.

62. Which three mountains Irving refers to as "3 Bens" is not certain. The page ends with a sketch of mountains unnamed, continued on top of the next page with a drawing of Ben Nevis and Ben Vorlich.

to it from Loch Lomond a narrow footbridge over a burn – commanded by a knoll with rocks – path winds up the hill – soldiers burying places on a knoll.

Bugle summons to castle of Inversneid [–] women about the castle – old woman looking thro the window –

party Mr Sheriff a Scot – two Mr Grants – a young German

[*p. 119, dim sketch of fortifications*]

[*p. 118*]

Approach to Ben Lomond – road winding down a hight on which sun shines – opposite Mountains in dark purple

---

Huge mountains – dark purple [–] black shadows over the water – little green intervale with cottage as if reposing in the giant arms ↑bosom↓ of the mountain. Gigantic embraces

Soft rich green turf slopes down the mountain – ↑summer↓ house of Stewart on left

---

Mill of Inversneid[63] – ⟨huge⟩ large fine place. Old smoaky books – some latin – pretty little orphan girl – blue eyes & yellow hair – tends the Kye[64] –

Story of Hermit & officers negro Servant –

Water fall near the mill – water of Inversneyd – Take boat at the mill & visit Rob Roys Cave – a cleft among rocks – sometimes he hid 80 men – ⟨cli⟩ Cave at a picturesque point of rocks – Ash – lichens &c

[*pp. 117, 116, and 115 contain vague sketches of landscape, the sketch on p. 115 titled* "Opposite Rob Roy's Cave"]

[*p. 114*]

From Rob Roys[65] cave we are rowed to Tarbet – our Boatmen are smugglers

63. Inversnaid, one of the finest points on Loch Lomond, where the road from the Trossachs comes in.

64. "Cows."

65. Rob Roy (1671–1734), the Scottish freebooter, whose real name was Robert McGregor, is remembered best for his portrayal in Walter Scott's *Rob Roy* (1818). His lawless career was offset by his kindness to the unfortunate. Irving makes further references, see pp. 130, 143. Robert Bruce is said to have been sheltered in Rob Roy's cave, high up above Inversnaid.

Inn at Tarbet – good – beautifully situated – Evening walk to Loch Long –

September 15

Monday morning – leave Tarbet at ½ past 8 – cross the lake – walk to tip of Loch Lomond – MacIntrye our guide – has stories of Rob Roy &c – descend the mountain to [*blank*] ⟨take⟩ ↑reembark in↓ boat to Luss. from Luss take boat to head of Leven. Fair of cattle – walk down Leven to Dumbarton

---

Our Boatmen from Luss were McLelland a shoemaker & McFarlane a weaver. The latter had ⟨a S⟩ an intelligent countenance – seemed well informed for a man in his situation – had read the hist. of Scotland & was authentic as to dates – when McLelland pretended to speak he cried hoot mon – yed better let these tales be – ye dinna ken the right o'em –

Two drunken fellows staggering from the fair singing a pastoral of Burns.

Of all the Airts the wind can blow &c[66]

[*p. 113*]

near Tarbet –

Mountain stream falling down black rocks – Sun shining on it makes it like a shower of diamonds – ⟨Holly l⟩ trees hanging over it – Holly with glossy leaf & scarlet berry – Oak – weeping birch with tender leaf – Mountain ash light & graceful – ⟨Lichen⟩ – Ivy running up trees – moss – fern &c

---

The Scots villages ⟨appear mere⟩ are dirty and mere ⟨ho⟩ collections of hovels – but the people seem curious, communicative & social.

In our voyage from Luss pass in sight of [*blank*][67] the burying place of the MacGregors – also Lenox Castle in ruins –

66. The song, "Of a' the airts the wind can blow," which Burns said he composed for his wife during their honeymoon.

67. Irving left a blank here but on p. 131 noted "Loch Lom ad Inch Caliach [Cailliach] burying place of the McGregors near Killearn cottage where Buchanan was born."

[*p. 112*]

Luss peasant had killed an adder – sure[?] but is fightsome said a pretty blue eyed bern

weel[?] but its a bonnie beast said an ⟨nanny⟩ old woman called nannie

---

Story told by Sheriff of a young man a weaver of Paisley who composed three or four beautiful songs [–] Jessie o Dumblane – dreary writer – he was of a melancholy turn & drowned himself – his name was Tannihill[68] –

Dunbarton castle – situated on a ↑conical↓ rock rising romantically from the banks of the Clyde and connectd to the mainland by a low peninsula –

September 16

Tuesday morning – waiting for Steam boat – ⟨situat⟩ seated on a rock at the foot of Dunbarton castle – Hazy warm day – Sun just struggling thro the haze – tide low [–] beach grey [–] stones & seaweeds – Coal smack floating lazily in – hear now & then the creaking of the yards ⟨boatm⟩ & hum of the [*p. 111*] boatmans song who is pacing his deck with folded arms – boat at a point of rocks on which was my companion Preston – Sherif[69] & young german – birds singing from the rocks over my head. hum of ⟨blu⟩ large flies about me – tokens of lingerings of Summer – Dumbarton across the narrow bay that separates it from the castle – smoke from glass houses.

NB – reccollect the night spent ⟨at cast⟩ on old roman rock in highlands.

Take steamboat for Glasgow [–] view down Clyde – Dunglass castle in ⟨forg⟩ middle ground – Dumbarton rock & castle in the Distance

Tannahill of paisley – Weaver[70]

[*p. 110 missing, p. 109 blank*]

68. Robert Tannahill (1774–1810), brought up as a silk weaver in Paisley, became a writer of Scottish songs. Among his best known songs were "Braes o' Gleniffer" and "Jessie, the Flower o' Dunblane." The alternate spelling "Dumblane" is also acceptable. His poems were published in 1807. See *Works of Robert Tannahill* . . . (London, 1848), pp. 2–3.

69. The name of this acquaintance occurs in various spellings.

70. The entry "Tannahill . . . Weaver" is upside down at bottom of page.

[*p. 108*]
September 17

7 oclock. Coach to Ayr – pass thro poor Moorish country. by Kingswell ⟨Irvine strea⟩

A few miles (about 2) from Glasgow pass Langsyde house where the forces of Mary were defeated – to our left we saw the knoll ⟨on whi⟩ from which she saw the battle –

⟨After leaving Kil⟩

About Kilmarnock & down to Ayr the country is soft & fertile – pass the Stream of Irvine – where Wallace killed two or three of the English who disturbed him when fishing

---

Put up at Kings arms at Ayr – go to Galloway Church Doon River &c –

In the evening the theatre Edinburgh company – morning return to ⟨Edinb⟩ Glasgow – intelligent guard – from Glasgow take mail coach to Hamilton – pass Bothwell Bridge – see Bothwell tower on banks of the Clyde – See Loudoun Hill[71] at a great distance like a high knoll – ⟨Stop⟩ leave[72] [*p. 101*] the coach at Kirkmoor hill – take a horse & cart for Lanark where we find it difficult to get beds – lodged at John Muirs

Friday – visit Cartland Craigs.[73] Wallaces Cave[74] – small cave where he was said to be concealed – grey rocks – Birch – weeping birch – ash – return to breakfast & then visit Owens manufactory[75] – children at play – at School – have evening amus[emen]ts[?] [–] 700 workmen – 2500 people – eating house &c &c – visit falls of Clyde. Coralinn[76] & upper falls – ⟨no chai⟩ difficulty of procuring a chaise at Lanark – Kindness of ⟨Mr⟩ Mrs Jean Peat hostess – pretty woman.

Arrive in Edinburgh ½ past 8 oclock[77] – after a fine ride across a heath with ⟨melti⟩ rich melting horizon – and Highlands in the Distance

71. Loudoun Hill, where Robert Bruce defeated the English, May 10, 1307, is about seven miles east of Kilmarnock.

72. At the bottom of p. 108, after the word "leave" Irving placed three asterisks and indicated the continuation by three asterisks at the top of page 101, intervening are two pages of text (pp. 107, 106, "Ayr Wallace . . . with Burns"), two blank pages, and two pages of sketches. See p. 116.

73. Cartland Crags, a vast chasm northwest of Lanark.

74. The Scottish hero, Sir William Wallace (1272?–1306), who was executed by the English for treason. Irving has other references to Wallace on pp. 103, 115, etc.

75. Robert Owen (1771–1858), a successful cotton manufacturer in Manchester, moved to New Lanark in 1800, bought, together with others, the textile mills and made the community into a model industrial town. His successful experiment became famous and made him a pioneer in the cooperative movement.

76. The Falls of Clyde are named Bonnington Linn, Corra Linn, and Stonebyres.

77. A letter to his brother Peter, dated September 20, 1817, indicates the arrival to have been Friday, September 19, 1817. See *Letters*, I, 504.

[*p. 100*]
September 20[78]
Dine at Jeffreys – Company Mr Hector McDonald Buchanan[79] Mr Rutherford Mr Thomson – &c –

September 21
Leave Edinburgh in mail for Selkirk[80] –

[*p. 107*]
Ayr – Wallace's Tower – story told of it by old man in neighbourhood who held a property charterd from london – fairy stories – Wallaces head – do[81] foot

---

Story of Wallace burning the Barns of Ayr and retreating to neighbouring hill from whence he said the Barns of Ayr burn well & it is called Burnwell to this day

---

⟨Kirkalloway Kir⟩

Kirk Alloway[82] – on a mound – Doon running at a short distance – Mason ↑John Tennant↓ at work repairing it for a school house – near the gate the grave of Burns father

[*p. 106*]
Douglas Graeme – o'Shanter – a farm
Kirk Oswald
Old man in white wig & a wat boy he was –
uncle Jonny some kind a wee bit touch upon him – & a niece living

78. Irving misdated this entry as "Saturday 21" and the next entry as "Sunday 22." September 21 fell on a Sunday, which was probably the day Irving left Edinburgh. A letter to Peter, also misdated as "Sunday, September 22, 1817," states: "I dined yesterday with Jeffrey, and found a very agreeable party of Edinburgh gentlemen there—I cannot but repeat how much I feel obliged to Jeffrey for his particular attentions, <to me> and the very friendly manner in which he has deported towards me." See *Letters*, I, 506.

79. Hector MacDonald Buchanan, the laird of Ross Priory, was also a friend of Walter Scott, whose warm letter introducing Irving is reproduced in G. S. Hellman, *Washington Irving, Esquire* (New York, 1925), facing p. 100. Irving reports this in a letter to Peter, September 6, 1817. See *Letters*, I, 503.

80. Irving had planned to call at Abbotsford again but Scott was absent. See misdated letter to Peter: "We go to Selkirk to-night, and to-morrow shall pay Scott a visit." See *Letters*, I, 506.

81. Ditto.

82. "Alloway's auld haunted kirk" of Burns's poem "Tam o'Shanter."

with him – I dunna mind what.[83] her uncle Jonny a cousin of mine just. ⟨he was a terrible⟩ Jonny married upon a shoemaker in May bower

---

⟨Hall⟩
Alloway church-yard. Lolling on grass by church door – stone mason telling stories of Burns. Soft mild day.

Sons of Shanter failed – one Pelton owns the farm.

Mason ⟨ofte⟩ had drank with Burns –

[*p. 105 blank, p. 104 sketch of "Brig of Doon," p. 103 blank, p. 102 sketch of "Cheviot[?] Hills," pp. 101–100*]

[*p. 99 blank, pp. 98–97 torn out*]

[*p. 96*]
I have repeatedly applied for some paltry public situation but have been as often disappointed – It has pleased heaven that I should be driven on upon my own strength – and resort to the citadel within me[84]
⟨s⟩ key influence [–] it had the effect of the airy tongues that syllable mens name.[85]

I haunted the spot – it was uncommonly beautiful. The brook made a broad bend and ran dancing & sparkling among pebbles –
There was a wall of grey rock that sprang up through the opposite trees – I found it had [–] an Eccho – this was a discover[y] – I brought my flute here & delightd to hear[in]g its wild sweet sounds. I meditatd continually on the little footprints – what was this being that had thus passed by as in a cloud & merely left the prin[t] of a foot for me to worship – No prince that finds the fairy ring in the morning.[86]

83. Tam o'Shanter's prototype was Douglas Graham (1739–1811); more doubtful is Souter Johnie's, John Davidson (1728–1806). Both lie buried in Kirk Oswald. "Wat" is Scottish for wet, meaning addicted to liquor.

84. Irving's brothers endeavored to get him a political appointment, but Irving refused such employment as jeopardizing his literary pursuits. "I have concluded to decline it for various reasons. . . ." Letter to Ebenezer, cited only in PMI, I, 409. See also his letter to his brother William, dated December 23, 1817. *Letters*, I, 514–15.

85. Irving quoted the line, "airy tongues that syllable men's names" (Milton's *Comus*, line 207); also in "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 71).

86. The passage "<s> key . . . morning" has been crossed out by Irving but



Figure 2. Sketch of "Brig of Doon," appearing on page 104 of "Tour in Scotland."

[*p. 95 blank*]

[*p. 94*]
Saturday, August 30

Leave Selkirk after an early Breakfast, ⟨The road⟩ for Melrose. The road lay along the side of hills in view of the Tweed – which is a ⟨fin⟩ clear stream without any trees, and running between naked grey Hills.

About 4 miles from Selkirk the chaise stopped at the gate of Abbots Ford; Mr Scotts country residence.[87] The road overlooks his house & grounds, which are situated on the declivity of a Hill at the foot of which runs the Tweed.

I sent the postillion with a letter of Introduction from Mr Thomas Campbell,[88] and a card requesting to know whether it would be agreeable for Mr Scott to receive a visit from me in the course of the day.[89] The noise of the chaise & the appearance of the postillion had given the alarm to a legion of dogs that garrison Scotts castle: all their throats were opened and one black greyhound mounted on a wall seemed to lead the chorus.

In a few minutes Scott himself appeared limping up the hill.[90]

[*pp. 93, 92, 91 are blank but show traces of erased writing or imprints from other writing*]

[*p. 90*]
Acct. of the education & attainments of his sisters[91] –

[*seven or eight lines erased, barely visible but not legible*]

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served apparently as material for "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 60, 70; see also p. 11 and n. 35).

87. For a full account of Irving's call upon Scott, see "Abbotsford" (*Works*, VIII, 253–332); also letter from Abbotsford, September 1, 1817, to Peter Irving. See *Letters*, I, 500–502.

88. Irving's letter of August 26, 1817, to his brother Peter mentions "I have a very particular letter to Scott from Campbell" (*Letters*, I, 492). Irving had edited some poetical works of Thomas Campbell in 1810, met him in England in 1815, and came to know him well in 1818. See also Irving's letter on this friendship in the introduction to *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, ed. William Beattie (New York, 1855), I, xi–xvi.

89. "Scott's family well remember the delight with which he received this announcement—he was at breakfast, and sallied forth instantly, dogs and children after him as usual, to greet the guest, and conduct him in person from the highway to the door" (J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott* [London, 1900], III, 131).

90. "Aug . . . hill" is written in ink.

91. Perhaps a notation, written in ink, for the story of Rosalie.

Blustering young officer – Swears and talks loudly.[92]

Arrival at the Camp – his idea of a military service to ride at full gallop in front of armies, to harangue – to light them up to deeds of valour &c &c – Caled no[r]thern commander – common placed – order given vehemently – no haranguing – no Enemy to see – but distant summon of tracking tobacco brwn horses – accompanied by a faithful negro – men discontentd about the quality of their provisions –

Joins troop of horse – Did not know how to ride – had to have sword exercise[93]

[*p. 89*]
different ⟨of the⟩ characters of the troops – those of the lowlands & those of mountains

Young officers & volunteers continue to arrive – odd equipments – all want to get white horses & to ride to the dale – ⟨Volunte the⟩ & cannot get appointd & acts as volunteer – a volunteer corps of cavalry – ⟨the⟩ all for galloping as all for the picturesque –

[*two lines erased*]

His excursion to Kentucky – the Story of Marse.[94]

The prospect from the top of the Alleghany –
visit to the ⟨barns calves⟩ indian fortifications

[*p. 88*]

Modes of adventuring thro the wilderness & down the rivers

My anticipations of success at the Bar how I would overwhelm the guilty – uphold the innocent – I would scarcely have changed my anticipation for the fame of Cicero [–] he was too cold &c[95]
[*8 lines erased*]

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92. The entries, "Acct. . . . loudly," are written in ink over erased, illegible notations.

93. The passage, "Arrival . . . exercise," was probably written later, like other entries on American life, and reflects Irving's experiences in the South and West in 1832 and 1833. See PMI, III, 33–44. There follow three blank pages, the first two having faint impressions from the opposite page which is also too faint for legibility.

94. Unidentified. Compare "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 178.

95. Irving began the study of law in 1799 and was admitted to the bar in 1806, but soon drifted away from active practice. For a detailed account, see PMI, I,

Pond, a ⟨little⟩ ↑wooden↓ Bridge over an outlet of the pond where we sometimes leand to see the green frog dart thro the water and the tribes [?] of newts & terrapins[96] –

[*p. 87*]
My father dubbed me the Philosopher from my lonely & abstractd habits – but I was the least of a philosopher as a boy[97]

Robinson Cruesoe – Sindbad the Sailor – led to read voyages & travels[98] – thot of running away & going to sea – put myself on a regimen but hated pork & gave it up[99]

[*p. 86*]
Mountaineers more attached to their homes than those of ⟨the⟩ plains – because there is more character about those bold prominences of Nature – strong scenery always attaches – then is a home a limit – Boundaries that concentrate the view & keep the mind from wand[ering] about [–] on a plain a man scarcely knows the limits of his home or what it is – It seems to extend to the end of the earth [–] he dissipates his views & efforts in the boundless spaces of heaven & earth – Dammd up waters are deepest. As I have observed in the human character, those who were of even temper & placid flat faces had many acquaintances & well wish[er]s – but an executive man with strong features had warm friends. There is something wonderfully attracting in a Roman Nose

[*p. 85*]
I[100] have been settled 4 months and am perfectly satisfied with my situat[io]n The house is commodious & being a center will admit of wings being added as my family increases – I have set out shrubbery & trees which in a few years will give a fine big grove to my landscape –

37–173. Following this entry eight lines have been erased in the middle of the page and are illegible.

96. Compare "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 60–61). Then follows a full page that has been erased.

97. Probably fanciful or autobiographical reminiscences.

98. Autobiographical. "At the age of eleven, books of voyages and travels became his passion. This feeling was first awakened by the perusal of Robinson Crusoe and Sinbad the Sailor" (PMI, I, 32).

99. Seven lines have been erased, and the page apparently damaged by water.

100. Here begins the story of Rosalie, apparently a series of notes for what may have been the plan of a novel. The caption "Last Chap," somewhat later in the notations suggests a plan for a longer narrative. Some details, the philosophical hero, the appearance of Glencoe, the study of Italian etc. can also be found in

[*p. 84*]
I am now [*blank*] and am quietly settled with my dear Rosie on the side of one of the Alleghany, near the scene of our lives & my day dreams. We have already a fine little family around us – and I trust to pass a happy life among them. As I was sitting in front of the house the other evening watching the setting sun, with Rosy seated beside me on the bench, her arm restg on my shoulder – watching the scene of evening splendour & youthful mirth I am now my dear Rosy[,] said I at quits with all the world – I have happily got thro all my follies & caprices and am safely anchord – I have done with with building. I will never change my mode of living but will devote myself to the rearing of those blessed little ones. I will form their minds from infancy that they shall not be so fickle as myself but determined & particular persons Charles she then [*p. 83*] said solidly shall be a Lawyer – he cannot but rise at the bar &c
Will
As to the rest of the children we shall have –
⟨This is all very⟩ well my dear ↑Freder [ick?]↓ said rosy ⟨blushing⟩ half blushg & half [*unrecovered*] ⟨she fondly patting me on the cheek⟩ I am glad to see you so reformed, but in the mean time had you not a will [–] let the children ⟨have the building of⟩ ↑build↓ their air castles

---

Has had thoughts of aspiring for Congress [–] Presidency –

Fond of Angling – suited my ⟨quiet s⟩ musing habits[101] –

---

the oppressive heat of a summer day – & yet it was to me delicious to lie under a broad tree on a rich clover bank and look up into the deep blue vault – to have a book & read while the cricket would skip into my book [–] the busy ant hurry across my page & the bee beg[?] with rumor – what delicious slumbers have I had with a book in my hand

[*p. 82*]
Every day new volunteers arrived. They were ⟨of the⟩ young men of the best families [–] high mettld, chivalrous – but nearly as ignorant of the world as myself – tall gallant looking fellows. Well mountd on blood horses – with Negroes attending them. Their picturesque equip-

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"Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 57–116). S. T. Williams attempted to reconstruct the plot of the story. See *Tour in Scotland and Other Manuscript Notes by Washington Irving*, ed. Stanley T. Williams (New Haven, 1927), pp. 93–94.

101. See "The Angler," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 461–73).

ments – Swords – pistols [–] something or other of warlike import –

They were all for riding the white horse & firing pistols into the air – I suspectd their fathers had all battle pieces hanging in their halls. Declamatory.

The story ↑f[i]g[u]r[e]↓ of the eagle struck me I was ⟨satisfied of the whole course of reason⟩ impressed with the weight of what he said – This may not be pleasing counsel said I – but it is at least sound philosophy.

[*p. 81 blank*]

[*p. 80*]

Those who live in the world can have but faint idea of the ⟨love of that⟩ of two beings thus secluded & surroundd by mountain & wilderness.

⟨When she was gone⟩

they who live in cities and are surrounded by a whole firmanent of beauty can have no idea of my loneli[ne]ss when Rosy was away ⟨They She was the silver moon the of a starless sky⟩ – they in the absence of the mistress of their affection – have all the lesser lights of heaven to illumine them with their beams of beauty – but Rosy was to me the moon of a starless sky – when she withdrew her lovely countenance all was darkness[102]

[*p. 79 erased*]

[*p. 78*]

Rosy was to the full as embarrassed – but women have a natural adroitness in society – their minds as their bodies are more pliant and facile of accomodation to circumstance – as I launchd out into the enthusiasm of party, I saw her steal a shy but arch look at me ↑from among her locks↓ and a smile steal about her pretty little mouth [–] it startled me – I felt a momentary dread that she might[103]

[*p. 77*]

Rosys father grown impoverished & determines to go to ⟨Miss⟩ Kentucky –

Fredericks visit to the deserted mansion – to Rosys chamber.

---

102. The bottom half of this page and the following 1⅔ pages have been erased and damaged by water.

103. The passage breaks off abruptly and three asterisks suggest a continuation.

His idea of settling in the wilderness with Glencoe for a companion –

Battle scene where his men run & he is wounded & taken prisoner – carried on board a British ship of the line –

---

have the odious habit of laughing in the wrong place which had so often been my annoyance She cast her eyes down again however with a resumption of the most absolute demureness and I felt as ever –
below [?] square theater
Nothing ⟨could surpass the⟩ ↑that could surpass↓ her countenance when her eyes were cast down under their long silken lashes – her ringlets hung in profusion over her soft cheeks and she seemed listening with much attention to the words of wisdom I was uttering[104]

[*p. 76*]
borne[105] along on the litter – notes of the wipperwill – the scream of wild geese as they flew over head lost in the darker depths of heaven[106] –

**Rosy had now & then a very equivocal way of darting sly & arch glances ⟨thro her⟩ from under the covert of her clustering locks & gypsy bonnet[107] – It was a kind of brash fighting that now & then ⟨became galled me⟩ took me most unexpectdly –

[*p. 75*]
Effects of independent mode of living on the Virginia character, so independent, bountiful &c

---

Glencoe the curses upon supernatural beings – who can tell what unseen beings walk their airy rounds among this mountain – The Satan alone is up there [?]
The hooting of the owl

As he spoke of the deceased his voice often in deep sepulchral tones[108]

[*p. 74 blank*]

104. Double asterisks following this passage suggest a continuation.
105. Preceding the paragraph "borne . . . heaven–" a half page has been erased.
106. Compare "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 60).
107. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
108. The last half of this and all of the next page is water-stained and the entries almost completely erased.

[*p. 73*]
Girls become wonderfully intimate in certain cases – Rosy & my sisters were sworn friend[s] – she loved my dear sister Sophy to distraction[109]

[p. 72]
– Last Chap –

Meets Rosy in Phila – our recconciliation & conversation – I have now seen much of the world & of mankind – years have brought wisdom and experience.

I repeated to Rosye all that Glencoe had said. I tried to fly the metaphor of the aegle – but it would not soar – I fell like dedalus – My father smiled –

Talking with Glencoe about war. Interrupt him with occasional thoughts about white horses – volume of smoke.
– When he comes to picturesque part of his ⟨argum⟩ discourse I listen more attentively[110]

[*p. 71*]
Rosy ⟨would⟩ in the evening she would bend down to me & breathe one of her little ⟨witch⟩ songs in my ear

---

Rosys ⟨figu⟩ Her figure certainly was totally different from all that I had imagind but it answerd a wish. I thought her the most beautiful being I had ever seen

---

Reccollect my leaping in the streets of Baltimore by Moonlight – clappg my hands & exclaiming let me but be renowned[111]

⟨The monster grinnd & smirked at me & writhd his he[a]d & champd his horrid teeth – I drove home the knife back & fourth – with the frenzy of desp[ai]r I find [?] him given up on some part [–] he fell backw[ar]d – he dragd me under [–] we fell on the
I grinned back at him & set my teeth & drove the knife[112]

109. The entire page, except these lines at bottom, has been erased.
110. Three and a half lines, following the word "attentively," at bottom of page have been rubbed out and the paper is water-stained.
111. Perhaps another autobiographical notation.
112. The passage "The monster . . . knife" has been deleted by Irving [?] with a large *X*.

[*p. 70*]
Trees covered with grape vines –

Broad leaves & Beechwood Bark for covering tent

Elk –
Sweetbriar – Honeysuckle[113]

Light spiral foliage of the vine

---

crimson buds –

Silvery gleam of the dewy landscape by moonlight – thin haze of the valley –

Why should I go home – what home have I – I carry my home with me, it is ⟨in⟩ the wrld of my thoughts, it is peopled with the memories of those I loved – it is filled with faces of loveones[?] & looks of friendship – with friends that have sunk into the grave & lovliness that has passed to heaven

Why return to see the abode of former pleasure desolate – to see [*blank*]

To knock at the doors of the Inn

[*p. 69*]
and by [be][114] received by strange faces. to find [*blank*] to enquire for the abode of youth & gaity & loveliness and and to be led to the tombstone

buried love

[*pp. 68, 67, 66 blank*]

[*p. 65*]

he that can pour the light of song & the charms of fiction[?] around his native land – ⟨that can⟩

[*p. 64*]

Glencoe

⟨They⟩ I repaird to the house of her father & was admitted – they could

113. Similar phrases to those in the lines above are found in "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 59).

114. Irving probably meant to write "be" but anticipated the following "by."

not keep out wretchedness like mine – Beside there was no danger of my machinations. She was yielding to the grasp of a more irresistible specter. I only came to see her perish.

I saw her die[115] –

I see her in lovely sunbeams – as often I hear her tones in the echoes of these mountains. She is about my path.

A strange being visits me evry night – He enters in spite of every prevention – he is bent down & haggard & indigent in face – he comes as the darkness of the night & lays himself down beside me – I cannot sleep – My [*p. 63*] rest is gone I am haggard – broken down wretch

[*p. 62*]
I ⟨stood there⟩ sweet smile stole over her face, it was a thoughtful & rather melancholy one – she looked like pity smiling on a sinful world.

[*p. 61*]
My journey homeward recruited my health. The specter that had haunted me remained behind. The prospect of my return to the alleghan[y] cheered me up –

Came covertly [into] the kitchen & sees them all in full song –

My father receivd me kindly – there was a lurking smile on his countenance which I could not understand. My mother & sisters wept over my ⟨sunke⟩ pale & sunken cheeks and determined that I should go no more to their odious coll[e]ge [–] that I should stay home with them for I knew enough My dear sister Sophy ⟨took me in her⟩ ↑wept over me↓ as I laid my weary ↑tired↓ head in her lap & was at peace

---

she was like a camelion –
– when she saw me melancholy she would come by me & breathe one of her little songs into my ear –

[*p. 60*]
Sophy said I – I am in love[116]

I am surprized thot I to myself that Glencoe has never taught me

115. This unexpected entry in "Rosalie" recalls other personal confessions in these early notebooks. They suggest Irving's preoccupation with Matilda Hoffman's death. See "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," pp. 185, 186. Some wording in this passage can be found again in "Mountjoy."

116. This precise phrase is in "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 72), where Sophy and Glencoe are characters of the story.

italian – it is all important. What use is latin & Greek to me [–] nobody talks them – but here – at my very first contact in the world italian is slapped in my face. I will set about studying this language on my return and ⟨le[s]t I should⟩ blow[?] no botch [–] I will study German &c[117]

In her fair clear countenance ⟨innumer⟩ a pure soul shone as the perfect day

---

The light of love which ⟨feelings⟩ which burned in her sweet[?] blue eyes

---

she played about me like summer lightning

[*p.* 59]
Talents accomplishments seemd to sleep in her ⟨like the⟩ & only to be awaked by accidental encounters. She was like the diamond continually flashing upon me some new light

She played around me – she delightd to sport my my gravity – she would dis[a]ppear with her whim & then come unexpecdly upon me with some note of melting pathos

---

He had an uneasy temper – he snar[le]d & raved at the wind and fancied that when he was fretting he was moralizing

philosophizg

[*p.* 58]
⟨Meets⟩

In philadelphia he enters into the dissipations of society – ⟨work⟩ writes a poem on a lady which he inserts in a weekly paper read by all the milliners – ⟨is p⟩ is pronounced a sweet poet – and [*unrecovered*] Rosy

Hears of a great belle [–] finds it is

⟨meets⟩ Rosalie unexpectdly [–] she is surrounded by beaux – takes no notice of him. Sings a song about indifference

---

⟨then meets⟩

She dances cotillion – he looks on with burning eye – hates these

117. Irving's first attempt at a novel, the fragmentary "Rosalie," furnished some material for "Mountjoy," written in London in 1818. These comments on the study of foreign languages are expanded in "Mountjoy" (*Works*, XXVII, 104–5).

unhallowed contacts – ⟨says⟩ He never learnd to dance – regrets it – wishes he could descend from his dignity – almost regrets that he is a philosopher.

His reconciliation with Rosy – mutual reproach [–] she affects hatred – fickle – produces the damning proof [–] the weekly museum. her pride gives way – she bursts into tears –

[*p. 57*]

Her song brought to my mind all ⟨pa⟩ ↑our↓ past scene of ⟨secluded innocen and⟩ all the innocent endearments and ⟨fairy⟩ early loves among the wild Valleys of the Alleghenys –

⟨She shall⟩ I became perfectly fascinatd by her. She shall twine the lighter graces of her mind round my philosophical spirit – I will be the stately pillar of the home & she the light wreath that graces it.

[*pp. 56, 55 torn out*]

[*p. 54*]

You have given up Rosalie – you choose a world – a worthless, heartless world in exchange, go reap your harvest of shallow smiles ⟨and say if all those⟩ ↑your↓ large ⟨gate[?]⟩ and say if one true heart rooted affection is not worth them all

---

family vault in Mrs. Jones Garden[118]
family

Rescues Rosalie from fire at Richd. Sees her from opposite box, – shrieks & struggling ↓there round to↑ escape out of the window [–] she faints [–]
alarm of Mr Somerville
–'flame expires in the silver light of a moonbeam
His disconsolate return to coll[e]ge

[*p. 53*]

Glenthorne

I have walked among the solitude of these mountains and fancied I heard the voices of departed friends calling to me in the ether – the grave has closed on my early hopes, ⟨it had⟩ My companions & friends have gone into the land of forgetfulness – I am a lonely melancholy man.

118. "family . . . Garden" is written in ink.

⟨thrown⟩ a stranger & a sojourner in a foregn land – no one cares for me on earth but I trust that there are gentle spirits that look down on me from heaven – that watch over my slumbers and shed comfort on my path –

The silver pomp of heaven at night[119]

[*p. 52*]
under a despotic govt man only lives for himself for he is a slave – but under a free govt he who lives only for himself is a brute

[*p. 51*]
Most men can become familiar with the rustic basis of the column while ⟨they⟩ their ⟨embellish⟩ vision cannot reach to the beauties of its corinthian capital

[*p. 50*]
Emmet 1803.
Arrested in Aug [–] wounded as he attempted to escape Tried Sept 14 & 19.
If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns & cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory life – Oh! ever dear & venerated shade of my departed father, look down with scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son, & see if I have even for a moment deviated from those principles of morality & patriotism which it was your care to instill into my youthful mind and for which I am now to offer up my life.
My lords you seem impatient for the Sacrafice – the blood for which you thirst is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim; it circulates warmly & unruffled through the channels which God created for noble purposes but which you are bent to destroy for purposes so grevious that they cry to heaven – Be yet patient! I have but a few words more to say – I am going to my cold and silent grave: my lamp of life is nearly extinguished: my race is run: the grave opens to receive me and I sink into its bosom - I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world; it is the charity of its silence – Let no man write my epitaph, for as [*p. 49*] no man who knows my motives dare *now* vindicate them let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them –

119. The grounds of Glenthorne in Devon, overlooking the Bristol Channel. The entire passage beginning "I have walked . . . here," personal as it is, served Irving as material for "St. Mark's Eve" in *Bracebridge Hall*. Specific repetition of phrases occurs in the second half of the essay (*Works*, IV, 154, 157).

Let them and me repose in obscurity, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times & *other men* can do justice to my character – When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth *then* and not till then let my epitaph be written – I HAVE DONE![120]

[*p. 126*]

Mr Preston D[ebto]r[121]

For Highland Excursion ending at Glasgow	12.10.3
Money lent at Ayr –	1 0 0
	£13-10.3

I owe Mr P

Money had at London	19.
Mrs Craigs Bill	8.⟨6⟩7.4
at Edinburgh –	25 - -
	⟨4⟩52.⟨6⟩7.4
	13. 10.3
	£⟨2⟩38.⟨6⟩17.1

In my rambles through this vicinity of the [*written upside down at bottom of page*]

[*p. 127*]

Mischivious people woud ha been ringing it when they got a drap whisky owre much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
2 [*written upside down at bottom of page*]
2 4 6 8

[*p. 128*]

near Killearn a
cottage where Buchanan
was born[122]

Glen Fruin – scene of the conflict in which the McGregors were

120. The speech of Robert Emmet, Irish patriot, convicted and hanged for treason, whom Irving already mentioned (p. 105 and n. 46). Irving's transcription contains slight variations from the standard text readily available to him, probably due to careless copying. The final passage, "no . . . DONE! ends in the middle of the notebook, where he had turned it around.

121. Miscellaneous entries, expenditures on his excursions, and other random notes complete the notebook.

122. George Buchanan, the Scottish humanist, whom Irving mentioned earlier.

destroyed[123] – here from [*unrecovered*] misery also Column of Smollet[124] Craig Rostan – rendezvous of Rob Roy[125] – enemy of Duke of Montrose – north of Inversnaid.
Ayre[126]

[*back cover*]

32
12
—
44
6

Selkirk See Philiphaugh
where Montrose & Leslie fought[127]

Shaw burn south from
Lingley Burn north[128]
4 Carter Haugh[129]
2 Newark Castle[130]
3 Dowie Dens of Yarrow
7.9 where Scott was murdd.
3.6 by Kinsmen[131] –
13.3

5 6
2
20.9[132]

---

123. The MacGregors slaughtered the Colquhouns at Glenfruin in 1603, which occasioned a special campaign against them that exterminated the clan.

124. An obelisk was erected at Renton in 1774 to the memory of Tobias Smollett, who was born near Bonhill in Dumbartonshire, just south of here.

125. Craig Roystan has a cave known as Rob Roy's Prison.

126. The word "Ayre" is upside down.

127. Philiphaugh, a mansion with fine gardens, recalls the disastrous defeat of Montrose by the Covenanters under Leslie in 1645. Notes to the ballad "The Battle of Philiphaugh" in Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ed. T. F. Henderson [Edinburgh, 1902], II, 208) explain that an area between the Ettrick and the Yarrow was a plain called Philiphaugh. See also "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 176 and n. 12.

128. Shaw burn and Lingly burn are place names mentioned in "The Battle of Philiphaugh."

129. Carterhaugh is at the confluence of the Ettrick and Yarrow rivers.

130. Newark Castle, beautifully situated about three miles from Selkirk, upon the banks of the Yarrow, is the scene where the "Last Minstrel" recited his famous Lay to Anne, duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth.

131. "The Dowie Dens of Yarrow," a ballad of this valley, is in Scott's *Minstrelsy*

Memoranda made by
Washington Irving
of
Sunnyside
in Scotland 1817[133]

Loch Lomond
Inch Caliach[134]
burying place of the
McGregors

TOUR IN SCOTLAND 1817 VOL. II.

Most of the Memoranda
in this book were made
during a tour in Scotland
in 1817 in Company with
Wm C. Preston (since a
Senator of the US)[135]

Memoranda made by
Washington Irving
of
Sunnyside

———

presented to me by my
cousin Mrs. P. M. Irving
January 1885.
George Irving[136]

---

of the Scottish Border, III, 182–86. T. F. Henderson explains that the hero of the ballad, murdered in Ettrick Forest by his kinsmen, has traditionally been identified with John Scott, sixth son of the laird of Harden, but that new evidence points to a duel between John Scott of Tushlielaw and his brother-in-law Walter Scott, third son of Robert Thirlestane, in which the latter was slain.

132. This column of figures, which does not add up, is written at an angle from the left to the center of page.

133. "Memoranda . . . 1817" is in the handwriting of George Irving, son of John Treat Irving.

134. Inch Cailloch is an island in Loch Lomond.

135. On the outside front cover of Volume II in Irving's hand in ink: "1817 Miscellaneous notes during a tour in Scotland with Wm C. Preston." On the inside front cover this notation in ink.

136. In the handwriting of George Irving. At top of page some almost illegible figures in pencil of Irving's accounts and at bottom upside down, faint and almost

[*p. 1*]

Dr Barrows works
edited by Tillotson[137]

To answer Brevoort
Nicholson
Mrs. Hoffman
Kemble
Newman[138]

Parry Flute Instructor
enquire at Powers Music warehs
Strand[139]

Olin Branch
Mr. Thomas Stuart Garten[140]

[*p. 2*]

Books for HVW[141]

Wilkinsons Memoirs	10.50 –
Cleavelands Mineralogy	3. –
Pitkins Statistics	3. –
Drakes Cincinnati –	– 84
American Register –	1. –
Derbys Lousiana & Map	6. –

---

illegible notations over which George Irving made his descriptive entry in ink over the writing in pencil.

137. *The Works of the Learned Isaac Barrow, D.D.*, ed. Rev. Dr. Tillotson. 4 vols. (London, 1683–1687). These entries and most of the following are in pencil. Entries in ink will be noted.

138. Henry Brevoort, John B. Nicholson, Maria Fenno Hoffman, the second wife of Josiah O. Hoffman, and Gouverneur Kemble were old friends with whom Irving corresponded regularly. William D. Newman was a midshipman on the Guerrière. See *Letters*, I, 437.

139. Irving's pleasure in playing the flute led him to seek instruction at this address in London.

140. These names appear very faintly upside down at bottom of the page.

141. The book list was probably for Irving's brother-in-law, Henry Van Wart. The titles are James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (Philadelphia, 1816); Parker Cleaveland, *Elementary Treatise on Minerology and Geology . . .* (Boston, 1816); Timothy Pitkins, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States . . .* (Hartford, 1816); Daniel Drake, *Notices Concerning Cincinnati . . .* (Cincinnati, 1810); *The American Register; or Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1817); William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana . . . Being an accompaniment to the map of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1816); *The American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics and Science* (Philadelphia, 1806–1810), the last two volumes edited by Robert Walsh; H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; together with a Journal of a voyage up the Missouri River in 1811* (Pittsburgh, 1814).

Walshs Register	2.50
Breckenridges Lousiana	2. –
– Tour	66
	$29.50
Melishs map[142]	7$ – $10

[*p. 3*]

A snake baked a Hoe cake
& set the frog to mind it
The Frog fell asleep
& The lizard came & stole it

Bring back my hoe cake
You long taild nanny[143]

Old Faddy

[*p. 4 blank*]

[*p. 5*]

The closest union here cannot last longer than death us do part; wherefore no man upon such account can truly call or heartily esteem himself happy. Why then do we so cumber our heads with care, so rack our hearts with passion, so waste our spirits with incessant toil about these transitory things? Why do we so highly value, so ardently desire, so eagerly pursue so fondly delight in, so impatiently want or lose, so passionately contend for & emulate one another in regard to these bubbles, forfeiting & foregoing our home bred most precious goods, tranquility & repose either of mind or body for them? Why erect such mighty fabricks of expectation & confidence upon such unsteady sands Why dress we up then our Inns as if they were our homes & are as careful about a few nights lodgings here as if we designed an ever-

142. John Melish not only published William Darby's volume but was the author of *A Military and Topographical Atlas on the United States* . . . (Philadelphia, 1815), which includes a map of New Orleans and adjacent country. The entries "Books . . . $10" are upside down.

143. S. T. Williams suggests (*Tour in Scotland* . . . , pp. 128–29), that Irving probably heard this Negro song with many variants during his travels in the South. Thomas W. Talley's *Negro Folk Rhymes* ([New York, 1922], p. 49) has a four-stanza poem that includes the lines,

Dat snake, he bake a hoecake
An' sot de toad to mind it;
Dot toad, he up an' go to sleep.
An' a lizard slip an' find it!

lasting abode. For we are but sojourners & pilgrims here, and have no fixed habitation upon earth who come forth like a warrior[?][144]

[*p. 6 blank*]

[*p. 7*]
Sir Wm Temple
Many friends may do one little good [–] one enemy much hurt.[145]

Leisure & solitude, the best effect of Riches because mother of thought. Both avoided by most rich men, who seek company & business, which are signs of being weary of themselves.

The only way for a rich man to be healthy is by exercise & abstinence to live as if he were poor, which are esteemed the worst parts of poverty

---

The first ingredient in conversation is Truth, the next good sense, the third good humour, & the fourth wit.

When I consider how many noble and estimable men, how many lovely and agreeable women I have outlived among my acquaintance & friends methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.

[*p. 8*]
Changes in views of wit like those of habits or other modes

[*p. 9*]

These were his traits of worth
And must we lose them now?
And shall the scene no more shew forth
His sternly pleasing brow –

Alas the moral brings a tear –
Tis all a transient hour below
And we that would detain thee here
Ourselves as fleetly go –

---

144. Unidentified passage probably copied from Irving's reading.

145. This and the following two quotations are from "Heads Designed for an Essay upon the Different Conditions of Hope and Fortune," the last three from "Heads Designed for an Essay on Conversation," found in *The Works of Sir William Temple* (London, 1814), III, 533, 532, and 543, 545.

Fair as some classic dome
  Robust and richly graced
Your Kembles spirit was the home
  Of genius & of taste

Taste like the silent dials power
  That when supernal light is given
Can measure Inspirations hour
  And tell its height in heaven

[*p. 10*]

His was the spell o'er hearts
  Which only acting lends
The youngest of the sister arts
  Where all their beauty blends

For ill can poetry express
  Full many a tone or thought sublime
And painting mute & motionless
  Steals but one glance from time

But by the mighty Actor brought
  Illusions wedded triumphs come
Verse ceases to be airy thought
  And sculpture to be dumb –

But who forgets that white discrowned head
  Those bursts of reasons half extinguished glare
Those tears upon Cordelias bosom shed
  In doubt more touching than despair[146]

[*pp. 11–18 torn out*]

[*p. 19*]
[*three sketches, presumably of the dwarfs mentioned below*]

⟨Brush⟩
Dwarf about 3 feet high met at the foot of arthurs seat ⟨Biff⟩ helped

146. The preceding verses are from "Valedictory Stanzas to J. P. Kemble, Esq. Composed for a Public Meeting, Held June, 1817," in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (Boston, 1866) pp. 135–38. Irving's stanzas are never complete and do not follow Campbell's sequence; the first four are upside down on p. 9, the last four are on p. 10 and actually come earlier in the poem. For the convenience of the reader, the pages are reversed. Irving first saw Kemble in 1805 and became much interested in his acting.

him over a style – an old man – large head – long body [–] short legs – rusty wig shewing stuff beneath a ragged hat ↑blue coat↓ – little leathern apron, blue trousers [–] found he was a spinning wheel wright – resident in Edinburgh – was going to St Antonys well to drink the water – was minded to go yesterday but it rained – used often to go but had not been for a long time – pointed to the ruins ⟨of⟩ on ⟨ple⟩ a cliff. ⟨H⟩ It was the ruins of St Antonys chapel [*p. 20*] [–] it must have been a weary way to go to ⟨prayers a⟩ do penance. Above a little stream that trickles from the side of a rock into a small basin is a cup found & fastend by a chain – little man drinks my health I returnd the compliment & we parted he returning me many thanks –

Monument of And. Rob Douglas Bulham

Here lyes ane honorabil
Voman callit Margaret
Erskine[147]
15 y[ea]rs[148]

[*p. 21, drawing of Arthur's Seat*]

[*p. 22*]
Linlithgow
Stirling
Callander
Loch Catrine
then
Cross to Lochlomond
Mr Buchanan
Inverary
Cairndow
to
Lochearnhead
Crieff
Amelrie
Dunkeld
Perth
Dundee
Cupar Fife

147. Probably graves and memorials in Greyfriars' Churchyard in Edinburgh.
148. This inscription and the lists of names that follow are apparently not in Irving's handwriting.

[*p. 23*]
Kinghorn
Leith –
from Mr Bu. to Edinb.

Glasgow
Hamilton
Falls of the Clyde
Lanark
Carnwarth
Edinburgh

[*p. 24*]
Rivers celebrated by Burns
Doon – Lugar – Ayr – Nith Cluden
favorite walks on the banks of the Nith or the Cluden – particularly near ruins of Lincluden abbey –
Athol house – Tilt – Bruar water
Burns raptures on the banks of the Tilt[149] –

[*p. 25, sketch of hills and tower,* "fr[o]m Lonely Isle"]

[*p. 26*]
Glasgow
Dumbarton
Mr Buchanans
Lochlomond
Loch Catrine
Callander
Lochearnhead
Killin
Taymouth
Blair
Dunkeld
Perth
Crieff
Dunblane

[*p. 27*]
Stirling

149. Irving was thinking of such poems as "Sweet Are the Banks o' Doon," "The Brigs of Ayr," "The Banks o' Doon," "Behind Yon Hills Where Lugar Flows," "The Banks of Nith," and "The Humble Petition of Bruar Water." Lincluden Abbey, at the confluence of the Cluden and Nith, is on the outskirts of Dumfries.

Linlithgow
Edinburgh

From Edinb to Glasgow
Lanark
Falls of Clyde
Hamilton
Glasgow[150]

[*p. 28 blank*]

[*p. 29*]
September 17, 1817
leave Edinburgh in chaise for Linlithgow – ride through low rich scenery of Mid Lothian & west Lothian – Leith water with pleasant banks. 10 mile stone ⟨stop⟩ walk to Niddery Castle – a Square tower [–] Walls of immense thickness. small burn winding round the foot of it – dungeon[151]

[*small drawing of square tower*]

pleasant approach to Linlithgow – in a road between two sloping banks. Old palace & church on a knoll with river winding at its base

---

Church. Old woman who shews the steeple. never saw Bogles—[152]
Palace – woman who shows it Bowie family been there 200 years –
Loch – green banks sweeping over it. cock crow[in]g

[*p. 30*]
Linlithgow Palace stands on a green Knoll with a beautiful lake ⟨round⟩ before it. Rich tint of the stone – large court. over the windows are the rose & thistle surmounted by the Crown. Cock crowing from one of the windows makes the court resound –
Woman that shews it of the name of Bowie – Has the hereditary privilege of shewing the castle & fishing the lake & makes collard

150. This list of place names is not in Irving's handwriting. In his account of the journey the names Cairndow, Amulree, Cupar, Kinghorn, and Blair do not occur. The names Carnwath, Inveraray, and Amulree are misspelled. Mr. Buchanan is identified in n. 61 above.

151. Leith is Edinburgh's harbor. Niddrie Castle is a ruined baronial fortress, where Mary, queen of Scots was received after her escape from Loch Leven. Irving drew a small ground plan of the castle.

152. Hobgoblins. In this Church of St. Michael just before the battle of Flodden an apparition (bogle) appeared to James IV, warning him against war with England.

eels[153] which are sent all over the world. Her ancestors have been in the service of the castle for 200 years – Her mother saw the Pretender when she was only 8 years of age & took him by the coat – he was a pretty gentleman
– Room where Queen Mary was born – Spacious though the ceiling must have been low – fine long corridors – large council room – Dining room. private chapel – [*p. 31*] Kitchen like a cavern, ⟨lar⟩ immense arched fire place

[*p. 32 blank*]

[*p. 33*]
Linlithgow church.
Old Tibbie who shews the steeple & says she rings the Bells. 79 years old – Says she never saw a bogle – Mrs Bowie accuses old Tibbie of telling untruths – says she gets the ↑idle↓ boys (blacks)[154] of the town of an even[in]g & gives them a cup of coffee & bannock[155] & gets them to ring the bells

[*p. 34*]
Falkirk. Sunday evening – Town in something of a stir from the arrival of Country people from different parts to attend a Cattle Fair[156]
⟨Looked⟩ A dull, dismal looking place though the misty weather may give a gloom to it. The scenery around is fine, particularly the carse[157] but the gloomy weather prevents its being seen to advantage –

[*p. 35*]
Monday morning, September 8
Leave Falkirk about nine – on foot for Stirling. Pass by Carron Works[158] – no admittance – beautiful scenery in the neighbourhood of the works – mist clears off & the sun comes out bright & warm. Falkirk Cattle fair on a moor – Highlanders in plaids – see but one or two in kilts –

153. Collared; rolled up. James Chetham in *The Angler's Vade Mecum* (1681), p. 288: " . . . the collar'd eel to keep a month." Eels cured and rolled up in a shape resembling a collar.

154. Marauders and poachers in eighteenth-century England blackened their faces to escape detection.

155. Unleavened bread, flat and roundish in shape, commonly made of oatmeal or barley meal and baked on a griddle.

156. The famous cattle fairs were called "Falkirk Trysts."

157. Carse, a low, rich land usually along a river. The carse of Falkirk was a fertile valley which the town overlooked from its hill.

158. Carron Ironworks at Carron, a mile north of Falkirk. Carron gave its name to an old type of naval cannon, a carronade, first made there.

small black cattle. Sheep with black faces ⟨bl⟩ & legs – ⟨sheph the men have⟩ The roads are full of droves of cattle pouring along towards Falkirk – picturesque figures of herdsmen with highland ⟨bonnets⟩ blue bonnets – plaids wrapped round them & staff under the arm. Shepherds dogs following – Small men of ⟨Burn⟩ hardy sunburnt countenances – Country very rich & well cultivated with the alloa mountains in the distance

The approach to Falkirk is uncommonly beautiful – The Town & Castle rising out of a rich valley – "Grey Falkirk"

[*p. 36*]

At The turnpike gate a little short of Stirling we get a girl to shew us the field of Bannock Burn[159] – An old woman points to us Galloies Hill[160] & says its there the soldiers came – what soldiers I asked – The Scots – our auld decrepid men & women –

We see the stone where the Bruces standard was planted – ⟨on Cockstead hill⟩ called the Kings stone[161] – fine view of Stirling from this place[162] –

[*p. 37, sketch of a landscape*]

[*p. 38 blank*]

[*p. 39*]

Falkirk fair on the muir[163] – Droves of small highland black cattle. Little tough highlander bustling & bawling in welsh – men with plaids swung round their shoulder.

Dog – as fine a yan[164] as ever ran the braes[165] – handsome clean limbed tall young peasant – light hair [–] sun burnt ruddy cheek – blue animated eye – firm tread[166]

[*p. 40, sketch of* "Stirling From Bannock Burn"]

[*p. 41 blank*]

159. The battle of Bannockburn in June, 1314, established Scottish independence with the defeat of a hundred thousand Englishmen by thirty thousand Scots led by Robert Bruce. See also Scott's "The Lord of the Isles."

160. Gillies Hill, so called from the French word for Welsh "Gallois."

161. The "Bore Stone," on which the Scottish standard was planted.

162. A full page sketch of a landscape not clearly defined, follows this entry.

163. Irving meant "moor."

164. Possibly the Scottish dialect word "yan," one.

165. Small hills or their slopes.

166. A full-page sketch labeled "Stirling from Bannock Burn" follows.

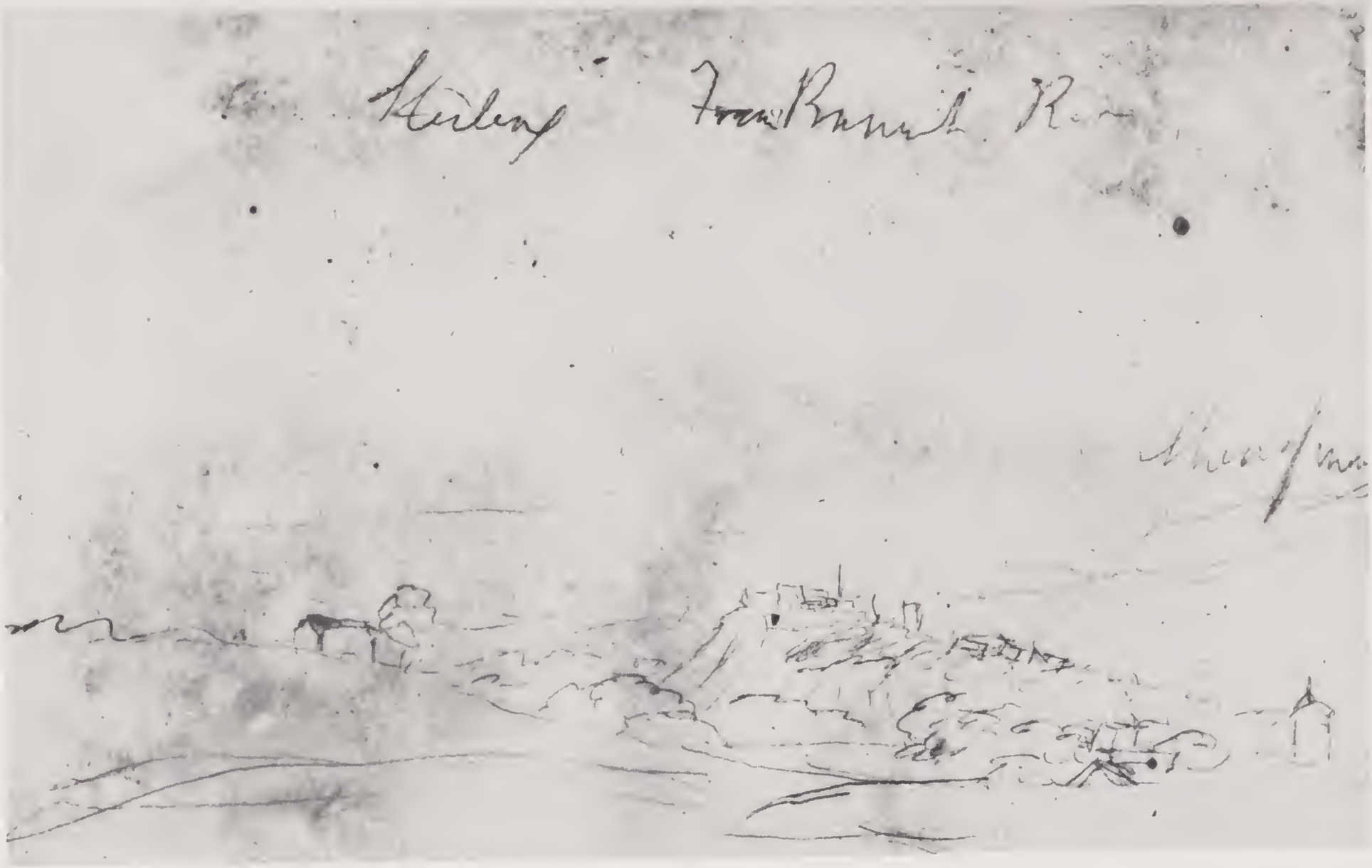


Figure 3. Sketch of "Stirling from Bannock Burn," appearing on page 40 of "Tour in Scotland."



Figure 4. Drawing of "Bishop's Tomb," appearing on bottom half of page 50 of "Tour in Scotland."

[*p. 42*]

Stirling castle – evening – Castle turned into Barracks &c. The guard room where Ellen was recd.[167] is beside the portal Door opening onto the Court –

View from Stirling castle at Sunset – clouds & mist shrouding some part of the prospect – splendid effect of sun darting her rays into the mist –

– Alloa mountains – nearer one of an inky hue – others lighter – sun seen gleaming on a mountain at a distance ⟨– vall⟩ Singular windings of the forth called the links of forth because like a chain –

Grotesque figures on the castle.

Visit the Goal where the carvings are which were taken from Stirling castle – Gaolar – a large ruddy robust man full of talk & jokes – shews old scottish measures – &c

Old invalid soldier who ⟨tells us⟩ [*p. 43*] points out the house where George Buchanan lived[168] – the Duke of Argyles home – now an hospital[169] – the Earl of Mars[170] projected residence – never finished –

Morning, September 9

brilliant clear day – valley of the forth – mist rising from it. Smoke from cottages – Forth gleaming like silver

[*p. 44*]

from Stirling castle looking up towards ⟨highlan⟩ NWest. ⟨Leaving[?]⟩ Long lines of mountains in the distance. fertile valley – hamlets – lines of cottages – roads intersecting it – forth winding thro. See horsemen traversing the roads – the noise of waggons rattling away below. feeble shouts of children – river her[e] & there lost – then gleaming again – Castle high above me on crags – crows and choughs wheeling around it – cool morning breeze – smoke wreathing up from thatchd cottages – cocks crowing – twittring of birds – Reapers in distant field mostly women – Old men taking their mornings walk round the Castle Rock

167. Sec Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, canto 6, entitled "The Guard-Room," stanzas 1–10.

168. George Buchanan (1506–1582), Scottish humanist, historian, and poet, lived at Stirling castle as tutor to James VI from 1570 to 1578.

169. What was called Argyle's Lodging, built in the sixteenth century, was made into a military hospital.

170. Thc earls of Mar, whose origins go beyond established records, bclong to the Erskinc family in the pccragc of Scotland, and were for a long time keepers of Stirling Castlc.

Mountains ↑purplish↓ brown with heath *patch* part dusky greenish grey – Dark green patches of Pine wood

[*p. 45*]
Tower of Cambus Kenneth Abbey[171]

Leave Stirling ⟨i⟩on Coach for Perth – find on top of coach Mr Dent of Worcester – beautiful ride up the valley – with Stirling at a distance – rock of Stirling completely covering the town – Craig – Forth at distance on our left –

Country bare ⟨& ble⟩ heathy – fine purple tint of the mountain – Pass thro Dunblane – not a handsome woman in it. Guard of coach says he has made diligent inquiry & believes the story of Jessy[172] entirely a fiction – fine old church in ruins –

The latter part of the ride within 10 miles of Perth grows beautiful Ride along Allan water – See Invermay[173] on our right

[*p. 46*]
Perth – Are shewn the hous by a fellow passenger Mr Robinson[174] of Glasgow. Steamboat proprietor – a Dandy dinmont character[175] –

Tay a limpid beautiful stream – fine Bridge &c

[*p. 47*]

Kinnoul Craigs famous tradition for ↑rite↓ ⟨festi⟩ of Beltan or May Day[176] retreat of Wallace[177]

Wednesday morning, September 10
Walk up to Craig of Kinnoul – from side of the hill have a fine view of perth and the adjacent country – Great valley with the Tay winding

171. Cambuskenneth Abbey, founded in 1147, became the wealthiest Augustine monastery in Scotland. All that now remains is a noble detached tower and a doorway of the church.

172. An allusion to Robert Tannahill's song, "Jessie, the Flower o' Dunblane."

173. Invermay, a ruined ancient tower.

174. Irving elsewhere (p. 151) lists William Robinson of Liverpool, who probably showed him the "Fair Maid's House." See Scott's *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828).

175. Dandie Dinmont, a sturdy, hospitable farmer, is a character in Scott's *Guy Mannering*.

176. Kinnoul Hill, south of Perth, where on Beltane or May Day the Scots celebrated with bonfires on the hills, dancing, and other rites.

177. The lines "Kinnoul . . . Wallace," look like a later insertion at the right-hand top of the page.

thro – Palace of Scone on left.[178] Grampian Hills in distance coverd with mist – twittering of birds. Smoke rising from cottage chimnies – ⟨Gir⟩ peasant girls with milk – thread &c going to the fair – tall pretty girl with milk pails singing a Scotch song

Rob Roy[179]

[*p. 48*]

The prospect from the Craig of Kinnoul is one of the noblest I ever beheld You are placd on the edge of an impending precipice of some hundred feet ⟨and overlook⟩ that forms part of a ridge of crags – beetling over a beautiful & fertile vale – ⟨you⟩ The Tay winds below you and at a distance makes a grand sweep with the hills of Fife shire beyond

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picturesque hights with telegraphs[180]

River gleams like a broad sheet of silver – with the sun beams

---

Flight of crows ⟨over⟩ far below me –

Road passes below the crag & I hear the noise of a cart tho' the cart & horse are extremely diminished by the hight – rush of the wind through the trees of the cliff – whistles thro the grass that grows on the brow of the precipice – I hear the whooping of children but cannot perceive them.

[*p. 49*]

Front of crags beautifully tinted – golden or rather rusty tints – grey greenish &c. hear voices and songs of ⟨work⟩ peasants from the valley but cannot see the men

---

178. A modern mansion, seat of the earl of Mansfield, on the site of the Augustine abbey in which the early Scottish kings were crowned. The Coronation Stone or Stone of Scone was located here.

179. "Rob Roy" is written at an angle in right corner at bottom of page. He is mentioned repeatedly in these notes. Scott's novel did not appear until 1818, but Irving knew the book was in preparation. In letters to Peter, dated August 19, 26, and September 6, 1817, Irving wrote: "I find it is pretty generally believed that Scott is the author of those novels, and Verplanck tells me he is now travelling about, collecting material for Rob Roy;" "Walter Scott is at Abbotsford; busy, it is supposed, about Rob Roy, having lately been travelling for scenery, &c.;" "...I shall be able to trace Scott in his Rob Roy scenery—" (*Letters*, I, 489, 491, 503).

180. A system of communication at a distance, usually with semaphore signals, in common use in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries before the electric telegraph.

French Depot[181] – Inches east end of the town[182] – fine ⟨comm⟩ lawns with tay running by them –

⟨½ pe⟩ Old abbey in ruins in perth[183]

Leave perth in Gig – hired at 8 friday & a boy perched up behind – boys name Robert
Horses name Blaze – trots behind & walks before. Great expense of the lash. pass some fine heaths – read Macbeth – As the road approaches Dunkeld it becomes extremely grand – Tay windg thro' romantic scenery –
Birnam Wood – collect some oak leaves – man at the gate tells us about Macbeth

[*p. 50*]
⟨B⟩ Fine view of Dunkeld from the Hill – tower of the Church appearg over the Duke of Athols grounds[184] –
– Country round richly wooded [—] mountains clothed with trees – pretty count[r]y girl with fine eyes – country girls often pretty until 14 or 15 when excessive work in the fields makes them coarse & hard favourd –

[*drawing of "Bishops Tomb" on bottom half of p. 50*]

[*p. 51*]
Dunkeld church – Huge columns & arches – Badenochs mutilatd statue & tomb[185] – crows cawing – clock from old tower strikes three – Ivy over the wall – old sextons ancestors bur[i]ed here [—] grey colour of the stone

[*p. 51, faint drawing of church*]

[*p. 52*]
Story of Grocer at perth that the Earl of Dunsinane employed 30

181. Probably a place of confinement for French prisoners of war.
182. North Inch and South Inch, parcels of low lying ground near the river, are now public parks in Perth.
183. Possibly the Blackfriars Monastery, where James I of Scotland was assassinated in 1437.
184. Dunkeld House, seat of the Murray family, first earls and later dukes of Atholl, has fine wooded grounds. The cathedral, built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, contains historic tombs.
185. Alexander Stuart, earl of Buchan and lord of Badenoch (1343?–1405?), was the fourth son of Robert II of Scotland. For his violence he was called the "Wolf of Badenoch." His tomb is in the cathedral choir, now used as parish church.

men to dig in ruins of Macbeths Castle[186] – They found bones – but the people were so superstitious that they fancied they saw ghosts &c and would not work.

[*p. 53*]
Old black woman at Mr Kembles pointing at the clock –

Dunkeld – from the Bridge. 5 O'Clock Broken clouds. rich gleams of Sunshine falling ⟨from the⟩ on Mountains & on the Stream – Old Cathedral town – gray – part of cathedral over run with ivy – smoke curling up from various parts of the Town – draws a haze like gauze over the green of the mountains – Gay confusion of mountain – tree[s] – stream &c. – Broad river – rippling stream – shingle beach – grey stones – clothes spread to bleach on the shore. children watching the clothes – fire made under a garden wall to boil clothes – Groups of villagers some with plaids – Sun falling upon a green table of land – and gleaming green beneath the trees –

Clouds – Soft clear colour – rich silver opening thro which the sun gleams Dark reflections of the mountains on the water – but wherever there

[*p. 54, full page sketch labeled "Craig Kinnoul"*]

[*p. 55*]
is a ripple in the water it catches a sunbeam & glistens amid surroundg gloom

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Niel Gows[187] favourite seat under an immense oak – twilight – bank of the Tay – dark flow of the water – salmon leaping – hooting of the owl. – Bell tolling the hour at a distance & echoed among the mountains – whistle of boy among the trees – tread of horse at distance – lowing of cattle sounding thro mountains – noise of cart in woods & gossippg of peasants –

Contrast between quiet flow of the broad deep Tay & the brawling of the shallow Brann

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Bridge 30 or 40 feet high ⟨over which⟩ two officers riding at full speed could not turn quick enough [–] one gave his horse the

186. Dunsinane, the westernmost of the Sidlaw Hills in central Scotland, had Macbeth's castle on the summit, the scene of Macbeth's final defeat as related by Shakespeare.

187. Niel Gow (1727–1807), a violinist and composer, popular for his Scottish airs and dance music for some of which Burns wrote the words.

[*p. 56, the text is interrupted by a full page sketch, barely legible, apparently of a castle or a church with mountains in the background*]

[*p. 57*]
rein & spran[g] over into the stream without injury – the other was injured against the parapet –

Prestons[188] Story of his ride – determind to cross ⟨river⟩ pine creek by a certain time – landlord told him that if floods were up he would be swept away against a rock round which the flood boiled & foamd. As he road thro the pine woods along precipice fringed with trees had now & then a glimpse of gulph of the valley with mist steaming up it & occasionally wrapping him in cloud – ⟨when he⟩ heard the torrent roaring – when he came to it found water over the ford – pulled off coat & boots & tied them behind the saddle – Horse swam with his breach up the stream & got over safe.

Borders of South Carolina – in the war there were many Scotch – anecdotes similar to border history – one scot who was wounded dreadfully told surgeon never mind me I shall be in heaven or h——— in half an hour but there is a poor fellow lost his leg [–] tend to him

[*p. 58*]
After surgeon had dressed the wounds of the others he returned to this man & found him yet alive – cured him – & the officers of the regt were so pleased with his magnanimous conduct that they subscribed & made him an annuity –

Thursday, September 11
left Dunkeld at ½ past six & rode to Balnaguard. – 10 miles – fine ride along the Tay vally with frequent views of the river – pass some fine plantations and the country generally better wooded than I had expected. Misty morning – but very mild & pleasant – Sun gleams out among the mountains.

Balnaguard a mere ⟨ha⟩ collection of miserable hovels – huts of stone & clay with roofs thatched of straw & heather – some have small inclosures in which a scanty stock of cabbages are raised – some few apologies for windows stopped up with rags ⟨boardds⟩ boards &c

188. Irving's traveling companion probably related these anecdotes of American scenes during their tour.

Small [*p.* 59] streams wandering thro the village – stone bridge of rude workmanship thrown over it near the Inn –

⟨From h⟩ Public house dirty – but breakfast abundant.

6 miles to Aberfeldy – on the way pass the small castle on left of Gauntlin[189] – turrets at corners – Girl sewing by the side of the road – singing scotch air.

At Aberfeldy visit the falls of Moness – one falls called the falls of the Birks of Aberfeldy where Burns wrote his song[190] –

⟨Arrive at⟩ Thence 7 miles to Taymouth – noble seat of Marquis of Breadalbane[191] in castellated form

[*p. 60 blank*]

[*p. 61*]

Kenmore – beautiful view ⟨of the⟩ Loch Tay from the road.

Row to little island – ruins of convent built in time of Alex 1.[192] ⟨Kenmore Taymouth⟩ ↑Kenmore↓ church & village – with sunshine on it – bridge – lake calm – boat on the beach of the Island – sunbeams on distant heathery mountains – Lowing of cattle from side of mountain –

Large Lime Trees round the Convent

Trout leaping in the lake

Towers from Bradalbane Castle –

Walk after dusk in the grounds of Marquis of Breadalbane – singular cry of a bird high in the air which I could not see – sound of Kenmore clock – fine highland boy riding boldly like a soldier – village children running afraid [*p.* 62] of ghosts –

189. Possibly Grandtully, name of a village, hill, and Loch a few miles from Aberfeldy.

190. Burns wrote "The Birks of Aberfeldie" while standing under the Falls of Moness. Irving quoted the fifth stanza of the poem in "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817." See p. 187.

191. Sir John Campbell (1762–1834), fourth earl of Breadalbane, was created Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth Castle in 1816 but was not raised to the marquessate until 1831.

192. Alexander I (1078–1124), king of Scotland, encouraged ecclesiastical conformity with English ways and established several monasteries, one the convent on the island in Loch Tay near Kenmore.

Friday, September 12
leave at 7 oclock – beautiful warm morning [–] sun breaking beautifuly thro clouds – picturesque views of Kenmore from various parts of the Lake Little island of the convent –

Old hovels of stone & rubbish – Thatchd, coverd with moss – grass under – fox glove – Mountain ash hangs over them its red tassels

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Loch Tay – Darkend by passing clouds – Kenmore church in the shade – but beyond – the heathy mountains down the course of the Tay are in sunshine [–] [*p. 63*] so from the gloom of adversity look out on the prosperity of thc world –

As we go up the ⟨Tay⟩ Loch Tay it seems as if we were riding into regions of darkness – mountains ahead all ⟨shrouded in⟩ overshadowed by clouds & tops coverd with mist – behind us all sunshine

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Lion Mountain – ↑seen↓ away up a vast mountain Defile like a lion in his Den. top shrouded – Ben Lars covrd with mist[193]

Mountains begin to look stern & sterile – Scarred with gullies

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Mountaineer – who boasted of his mountains – Ben Lion &c

Clouds thicken – rain – fine rain bow – mountain under it mottled with sunshine [–] above the mountain appearing darkly thro mist –

[*p. 64*]
Killin – wild brook breaking its way thro the village[194] –

Old castle & Chapel of Ld Breadalbane – old game keeper & his Staff – his story of Mans head struck off that cried Kirk Kirk Kirk

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woman begging – this is a bonny country Sir – a bonny place between the Knowes[195] – a bonny chapel for Ld Brandalbn where hes gone been buried when he[']ll be dead – mony thanks sir & wish you safe home tull your ain country

193. Ben Lawers (3985 ft.), one of the highest peaks, rises on the north bank of Loch Tay.

194. Killin is situated on both banks of the Dochart near its entrance into Loch Tay.

195. Knolls.

[*p. 65*]

Road from Killin to Loch Earne head passes through ⟨a wild highland⟩ glen with stream rolling thro – then turns up a mountain & thro a wild rocky glen – Druidical stones – heavy rain & wind in this glen. Arrive at Loch Earne 8 miles – weather holds up & lake looks wild –

Stream rumbling sound – flies playing idly over it
Strand[196]

[*p. 66 blank; pp. 67 and 68 torn out*]

[*p. 69*]

Perth – Septr. 10th. 1817.

I ⟨late⟩ lett a Gig and Horse to Mr Irving at eight Shillings per day. The Boy that accompanys the gig to be found. If the gig is relinquished at Callander Mr Irving is to pay twelve Shillings for the expenses of the Gig back to Perth. If there is any detention from defect of the Horse or gig, Mr I to pay nothing for the time taken up by such detention.

Jas K Noring[?][197]

[*p. 70 blank*]

[*p. 71*]

Hunters dress – linsey trousers – Mocasins well greased. Hunting frock – of linen colour according to the season – green & yellow &c belted. live several weeks in the woods. farm ⟨it⟩ also but poorly –

Gentlemen make a party to hunt the bear – encamp for several days – live high – hangers on from around the country –

(Fishing parties – taylors of village &c) Sometimes turn out ⟨to⟩ on alarm of a wolf in neighbourhood – whole country in a halloo – ⟨wolf or⟩ never catch the wolf but drive him from the country –

The hunters esteem killing the deer inferior sport – animal is shot down without knowing from whence the shot comes but to catch a great center he (bear) in a laurel bush with dogs is rare sport –

Hunter shot bear in belly [–] dog grappled with him – bear nearly killing him – hunter rushd in & stabbed bear in back of the shoulder.

196. The word is written sideways near the right bottom of the page.

197. This agreement, written on a separate page, is in Irving's handwriting but is signed by the owner of the horse and carriage.

⟨Deer⟩ Buck sometimes makes sport by getting in the water where he touches

[*p. 72, full page drawing of castle or house on crags*]

[*p. 73*]
bottom while dogs have to swim – cannot hurt them but knocks them under – sometimes cuts them with his feet

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Young Y. Sick confined to tent – hears the whooping of hunters yelling of dogs[,] a gun now & then roaring among the mountains – rude repast – Hunters Superstitious – believe in their guns being charmed – in good omens, &c. in dreams – one if he dreamed of a dead horse was sure of killing a deer & exerted himself so much as often to make the dream come true – borrow these superstitions from the Indians.

Shooting for Beaver – have their choice according to the shot – best Shot has hides & tallow – sometimes one gets all – ⟨old wom give⟩ old women of neighbourhood bring barrel of Cider & Ginger nuts – cider barrel put on two poles with a transverse peice – the whole drawn by a horse – whiskey – generally ends by a fight at night – no dancing – too rude for that amusem[en]t [—] no girls attend[198]

[*p. 74*]
["] Lets talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs"
Richd II[199]

Roslin Castle	12.6
Bill at MacGregors	11.10.2[200]

[*pp. 75–76 torn out*]

198. The entries "Hunter's dress . . . girls attend," two full pages in this notebook, are extraneous material written much later, probably after Irving's return to America, and belong to his "Notes on the West and South." They may be a part of his notes made during his travels in 1832–1833.

199. Shakespeare's *King Richard II*, III, ii, 145. There follows a page with two pencil sketches labeled "Farne Island" and "Bamborough Castle, August 25, 1817." Irving had mentioned these places in his entry for August 25.

200. Roslin Castle, the ancient seat of the St. Clairs, is not far from Edinburgh, just beyond Hawthornden. The entries "Roslin . . . 11.10.2" are upside down at the bottom of page.

[*p. 77*]
Walsh's Review[201]
– William Robinson & Sons –
Liverpool –
Constable gives Jeffrey Tooth pieks.

⟨Seott gets 1200 £ as clerk of Loftson⟩ Seotts different employments as elerk-sheriff &e about 1700£. got 12,000 with his wife[?][202]

[*p. 78*]
Roslyn Castle Sundown. Daws & swallows Sporting in the air – river[?] of the Lyne – Sun setting behind the Pentland hills
Old woman at the abby – fine situation of the Castle Oh yes they never built their Castles till they went round ye County to get a fine situation[203]

[*p. 79, drawings* – "Farne Island" *and* "Bamborough Castle"][204]

[*inside back cover*]
£ 30.2–6

Birks of Aberfeldy
[*two words unrecovered*] fall spattering guns
Heath 18/6
Captain William Nesbitt
Coleridges new works
Sybilline leaves
Biographia Literaria
History[205]

201. Robert Walsh (1783–1859) was editor of three American reviews. In 1817 he edited the short-lived journal, *The American Register*, which Irving mentions (n. 141). Brevoort and Irving had corresponded in 1811 about *The American Review of History and Politics*. See *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving*, ed. G. S. Hellman (New York, 1918), pp. 4–5 and *Letters*, I, 315, and n. 10.

202. The entries "Constable . . . wife[?]" are upside down at bottom of page.

203. "Roslyn . . . situation" is upside down at bottom of page.

204. Not far from Berwick-on-Tweed are the Farne Isles and opposite them on the mainland is Bamborough Castle, on the site of a Saxon stronghold.

205. Coleridge's *Sibylline Leaves* (1816) and *Biographia Literaria* (1817). The entries "£30.2-6 . . . History" are written upside down on the inside back cover.

[*p. 116*]
Capt.[206] Millard G Marseilles [?]

2d part of Marsala [?] Murray
Paris in 1815 poor do
Prospectus do
[3 *illegible lines,* do
presumably titles] do

Harrington & Ormond
Miss Edgeworth[207]
Galdwed Casdrel 19
Musomania incident & gig [?]
Works of Hume and Hooker[208]

[*p. 115 (fly leaf)*]

Balnaguard Inn	10	
Aberfeldie	6½.	16.½
Kenmore	6½.	23
Mean hamlets—Kirk of Luaes [?]	8½.	31½
Bena Cleuch [?] ⟨Finbury⟩	4½.	35
Finbury	3.	38
Killin	1.	39
Loch earn head Inn	8.	47
Callender—221	13.	60.

Dunkeld 5.9
Berg 1.9[209]

[*p. 114*]
Robustness of Eng character – habits persons & minds – less sensibility to what is graceful & beautiful. Fond of order – neatness, clean[line]ss – absence of enthusiasm – not very excitable no poetical chara[ct]er – Eng County chr

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206. At this point Irving begins at the back of the volume and works forward.

207. Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849), a friend of Walter Scott who admired her work, was a successful English novelist whose stories were about Irish life. Author of *Harrington and Ormond*, tales published in 1817.

208. The works of the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1766) were published in four volumes in 1753–1754 under the title *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*. His *History of England* was published separately 1754–1762. Irving was referring to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. See note 210.

209. Unidentified. Birnam Hill is behind Dunkeld. The entries "Balnaguard . . . 1.9" are on the flyleaf as the notebook was begun at the back. The last four lines on this page are almost repeated on p. 255.

valley [*unrecovered*]

Funeral processions – Service &c
vide Hooker on Ecclesiastical polity
Book V – paragraph 75 &c

Women apt to follow new doctrines—Preface to ⟨Baxter⟩ Hookers Work above mentioned[210]

Hoopers Sermon – on the text "If they hear not moses & the prophets &c["][211]

[*p. 113*]

Preaching & praying of the Methodists – light of churches not extinguished for months

[*p. 112*]

Various circumstances had occasioned to give a ⟨gloom⟩ melancholy tone to the public mind & to excite the public imagination – This Dreadful conflagration of the Theatre of Richmond which had wrapped beauty & talents in flames – Tornado which had swept the southern coasts & desolated the country &c The continual succession of earthquakes – all had produced a feverish excitement & filld the imagination with dreams of horror & apprehensions of sinister & dreadful events.

About this time a man published a prophesy – predicting the end of the world on 4 June. effect of it on the country people Work suspended [–] many did not grow corn for they knew not that they should reap it – ⟨Our Th⟩ In the town where our [*p. 111*] college was situated a Butcher [–] had been made the depository of many of the pamphlets – ⟨from⟩ He was resortd to by all those ⟨alarm from wicked⟩ of diseased & alarmed minds – from continually reading them & conversing with every variety of melancholy & forlorn being his intellects became confused & he went mad.

⟨Scene⟩

The diseased state of the public mind was caught in the college – some went home [–] others lo[d]ged about in small wooden houses. – Some took up a desprate mode of dissipating thought & played cards incessantly – One man was stationed at a pendulum to give warning of the

210. Irving was reading Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. See *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker, Containing Eight Books of Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity . . .* (Oxford, 1843), I, 125–27; II, 70–74.

211. Probably George Hooper (1640–1729), bishop of Bath and Wells. The sermon has not been identified.

approach of [*p. 110*] a shock – ⟨by⟩ that we might fly to the fields. He got a bugle & used to sound three ⟨notes⟩ ↑blasts↓. Never did any thing sound to me more disastrous – He was nicknamed *Gabriel* by one of the profligates. I used to take my bible & read.

Alarm of earthquake at night. we all fled to the colledge court. ⟨& assembled pale & melan⟩ Chimney falls with dreadful crash – exclamation that the earth had opend before us – lurid look of the heaven – stillness & oppressiveness of air ⟨Patches⟩ Wall of one of the bigger appartments falls – Exclamation that the earth had opened. behind – dreadful state of [*p. 109*] alarm.[212] Metior streams over the College – glar[e]s a baleful light over the court yard & bursts with tremendous report – gave myself up for lost – thought I was annihilated –

⟨In the day time – earth quake⟩

Howling of dogs Screams of domestic fowls – Shrieks of women & wailing of children

Butcher runs frantically about the street foaming at the mouth – & crying Woe Woe Woe – the destruction of Columbia is at hand &c – prepare for the presence of the ↑Lord↓

Shrieks of women – all was awe & dismay –

[*p. 108 blank*]

[*p. 107*]

Shenandoah.

Dutch settlers from Pennsylvania have supplanted the Virginians

Fertile grain country – with Blue ridge on one side & alleghany on the other – ⟨upper⟩ (180 miles long [ )] – Upper part of the valley called the Yankee country. ⟨Property mo⟩ Country rich but property moderately distributed – No man over 100 or 150,000$ most under 30,000 – well cultivated.

Preston calls with a gent who had purchased land of Dutchman for 30,000$ – in valley of Shenandoah. Large ⟨f⟩ well cultivated farm – ⟨good⟩ Found Farmers wife seated in hall – with shift & linsey woolsey petticoat – spinning flax – Bag [*p. 106*] of wool in one corner – quantity of Linsey woolsey just come home from weaver in the other – Ears of Indian corn & strings of dried apples hangg up – ↑(low Bunk–[ )]↓

212. The following account of earthquakes and disaster may be part of Irving's planned novel. The burning of the Richmond Theater on December 26, 1811, provided Irving with some factual details, which he may have heard when in Virginia in 1833, but these entries cannot be dated accurately. Irving did not use any of these details in his published writings.

requested me being a young man to call the girl who was in the garden. Garden a tangled enclosure with kitchen vegetables & a few garish flowers. Girl a strong healthy swarthy wench digging potatoes ⟨a⟩ dressed in but one garment scarc[e]ly necessary for decency & applying her bare feet to the spade – When she came in she was sent by the mother to call her father who was ploughing in the field. He came home in shirt – coarse linen trousers seated sideways on a horse taken from the plow. One leg [*p. 105*] thrown over the Harness. paid him the 5000$ which he locked up in large wooden chest & returned to the plough. He was building a large Brick house & thought of having a Piazza round it – Stated the reasons pro & con. & chiefly determined in favour of it because it would be such a favourable place to hang up the gears in wet weather

[*p. 104 blank*]

[*p. 103*]

Virginia –

Difference between the men of the mountains & those of the plains. The former more hardy – open – vigorous & animated –

During the war when the peasantry was collected into encampments the difference was striking The low landers lounged in groups – drawing figures in the sand – talking of fishing &c. – How they lived at home – of their rustic luxuries &c On going to the encampments of the ⟨highland⟩ mountain peasants found them pitching the bar – leaping &c ⟨conversation⟩ Their conversation consistd of hunting stories – adventures &c – every thing hardy & animated – all their movements sprightly &c –

[*p. 102*]

Preston lives in Washington County, on the Ridge of the Alleghany – where the western waters commence. Limestone Mountains coverd with trees except where a ridge of white rocks extend with trees hanging over them –

Broad rich valleys. Washington County abounding with minerals & every thing necessary to life

Tin Pedlars in Virginia – entertained at farmers houses all night & at morn rob the beds of three or 4 pounds of feathers –

⟨A⟩ Yankees took in the Virginians by selling about 13,000 Wooden Clocks[213] [*p. 101*] not 100 of which go at present.

213. These observations on American life and Yankee shrewdness may have been written during Irving's tours of the West and South in 1832–1833, when he stopped to call on W. C. Preston, who had lived in Virginia but moved to Columbia, South Carolina; but they could be jottings of his discussions with Preston on this excursion to Runcorn.

One pedler stopped at farmers houses selling clocks – for note at 6 mo. and if clock did not prove good: when he came to collect the note he would either take it back or change it.

Clocks went for about 3 weeks & then got out of order – various causes assigned – When he came at end of 6 mo. he was provided with ⟨som⟩ new clock. ⟨Each⟩ On the first person complaing of his clock he exchgd. it for the new one ⟨wh⟩ & recd. pay[men]t of note – He then went thro his account taking clock of last person, repairing it & exchangg it with the next & thus at the expense of one new clock satisfied all his customers – always taking care to stay a night to see that the new clock went right.

[*p. 100*]

⟨Old⟩ Virginia Gent of the old times generous, liberal, open, ↑Hospitable↓ brave – courteous. every thing that could constitute the gentleman. Their houses – Large Halls where you find the tables that used to be coverd with plenty & hospitality open to the stranger broken & disjointed – Old Book cases coverd with cobwebs. odd vol of Spectator – traces of former taste – the dregs of ⟨the⟩ a generous bottle –

The owners gone to Kentucky –

Old Mansions on James River – of Wood – ⟨sp⟩ some of Brick that was brought from England –

Soil worn out ⟨&⟩ by tobacco ↑vile weed↓ – abandoned & returned to woods where the deer resume their ancient haunts –

[*p. 99 blank*]

[*p. 98*]

June 23, 1817

Excursion to Runcorn[214]

Preston – P.[215] & myself. By steam boat which leaves Liverpool ½ past 3 oclock – On board the Boat was a little stunted fellow 19 years old who played on the pandean pipes & beat the tamborine – and occasionally sang & acted. Dance of clowns, or rather country Butchers –

Weather uncommonly sultry – Arrive at Runcorn 6 oclock –

Stroll to the ruins of Halton castle & lodge at the inn established in the castle – Magnificent view from the ruins which stand on a high insulated Hill – ⟨Glorious sun set⟩ & command a prospect on all sides

214. This journey to the little river port, sixteen miles from Liverpool, was made shortly after W. C. Preston's arrival in England, in June, 1817.

215. Irving's brother Peter, then living in Liverpool, accompanied him and Preston. In August Preston traveled with Irving to Scotland. See pp. 93–162.

of a rich extent of country with the Mersey winding through it. Seat of Sir Robt Brooke[216] in the neighbourhood –

Ruins of the old castle over run with Ivy – Old library in the vicinity of the castle under the care of the Curate.

[*p. 97*]
Askeys Inn – Halton Castle.

[*p. 96*]
June 24[217]
Rise at 5 oclock and walk around the height among the ruins of the castle. Bright sunny morning – Smoke curling up from the Cottages of the hamlet at foot of the hill – country resounds with the song of various birds – Swallows skim around the hill & dart thro the arches of the old castle – cawing of rooks – Jocund crewing of village cocks – Lowing of herds –

⟨One⟩ The eastern ⟨part of the clouds line⟩ Horizon heavy with grey clouds – Grey mistiness of the landscape in that direction – ⟨dra⟩ long tracts of woodland of dark green – Smoke arising in a large mass from a ⟨distant⟩ manufactory several miles off – the Smoke rises to ⟨one⟩ a little height & then forms a long yellowish trail in the air, hanging over the country for miles & partly blending with the clouds

Sounds of rural labour commence Whistle of the plowman The light ⟨village⟩ cart preparing for market &c

[*p. 95*]
Prestons comparison of Steel traps &c amid lovely scenery to the tounge of an adder under a rose bush.[218]

Theres vile human nature lurking among the beauties of innocent creation

Comparison ↑retrospect↓ of week in town & in country

⟨At⟩ The retrospect of a week spent in town as We look back upon a waste of comfortless existence – of sordid pursuits – jarring interests of feverish excitement of listlessness, & exhaustion. Our pleasures either trivial or vicious – turbulent passions – all the bad properties of our nature arroused into action –

216. Probably an error for Sir Richard Brooke (1785–1865), sixth baronet of Norton Priory. The next day Irving visited the grounds of this estate.

217. Here Irving apparently wrote "23." Either he or someone else corrected the date by writing "4" over "3," but did not cancel the "3." The date "June 24" also appears three pages later, corrected to "25."

218. Irving showed little concern for the social and economic problems that were so acute in the first half of the nineteenth century in England.

In the country our time passes innocently. Our excitements are those of the imagination –

[*p. 94*]

The current of thought flows purely & steadily – it may sometimes swell & expand, but never is whirled & hurried in ⟨the⟩ turbid violence – ⟨Re⟩ Glorious reveries, sublime flights of imagination. ⟨Our Human⟩ Succeeded by quietude – not languor. A bland repose of the mind – Every noble & gracious ↑& graceing↓ ⟨property⟩ quality is brought out[219]

[*p. 93*]

Castle Inn kept by John Askey – His wife has 5 daughters by former husband – 3 unmarried ones at home Martha Jane & Kate.

Jane amuses us by her philosophical reflections – discussion whether Beauty or wisdom is preferable. Jane resolute in favour of Wisdom.

June 25

Rise at 5 oclock & walk around the ruins of the castle.

at 8 leave the castle to embark in the steamboat – find that it has sailed – get a jaunting car and ride thro a beautiful country & return to the castle –

Club of Poor Women assembled arrayed in their holliday clothes. A mutual relief club to assist each other in case of sickness – Groups of the [*p. 92*] neighbouring peasantry under the trees – in a fine little grove on the slope of the hill –

Lady Brooke[220] ⟨among⟩ at the head of the club. They have a dinner at the castle inn. A great fete as perhaps the only time they taste meat in the course of the year.

Attempt to visit the library, but the Key is denied by curates wife – great indignation by Preston – Loll in one of the towers of the castle & read – In the afternoon visit the library – Amber Pannels – Old dusty books –

[*p. 91*]

In the evening stroll in the grounds of Sir Richard Brooke – at night a Boxing match between two lads – probably of the mutual relief society

---

We were informed that most of the ⟨poo⟩ old women who composed the club did not taste meat from one ⟨of⟩ end of the year to another –

219. Such random musings appear frequently in these notebooks. Some may have been added later.

220. Lady Harriet, wife of Sir Richard Brooke.

lived on Buttermilk potatoes &c Some of them drank tea twice a day which with a little bread was their sustenance – Some of the poor lived on water porridge & potatoes

two labouring men had died of consumption from hard work & poor living & two or three others were considered as too much enfeebled ever to recover

[*p. 90 blank*]

[*p. 89*]

Missouri & Mississippi – former turbid, yellow & impetuous – latter pure limpid & gentle – sometimes expanding into lakes &c at their Junction. The Mississippi seems to shrink from the abordment[221] of its impetuous neighbour – is forced under the opposite bank or rather seems to shrink under it and steal its coy & silver way along – unwilling to mingle its pure waters with the turbid waves of the Missouri –

Singular contrast of the impetuous flow of the rivers & the gentle descent of the countries – Some rivers run nearly from opposite. The Illinois for instance – each equally rapid – yet no apparent descent of the lands. Little torrents rushing from Difft Hills – Like Knights tilting at each other –

The Mississippi – when it gets among the low flats – after leaving the [*p. 88*] table (mountain) lands – & gets where it has made the alluvial soil – seems higher than the soil – When on shore you see Vessels gliding above you[222]

Prestons comparison of the whirl of indistinct ideas of man in a city –

Opticians ⟨have said⟩ say that distribute colours separately on a wheel & whirl it round – it produces no colour – so the constant whirl of ⟨thought⟩ sensation produces no thought –

Since we cannot ⟨glan⟩ dart one certain glance into the future or drag back one moment of the past

221. Only the obsolete form "abord," meaning "approach," is listed in dictionaries.

222. This entire section, "Missouri . . . above you," was probably written during Irving's Western tour in 1832. But Irving sometimes interrupted his travel observations with details of American scenes. Compare his reference to the Missouri River in "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 185.

[*p. 87*]
Vron at the Brin
Ed – Jones[223] –
Vale crusis evening[224]
light Clouds scudding over the vally across the clear sky – cottage smoak curling – rush of small Stream
Greystone of the mountains
mountains naked – grey with scanty green

[*p. 86*]
Gipsey Groupe

[*p. 85*]
Byrons poems fragments of a giant ↑genius↓ mind like fragments of a Column give an idea of the grandeur of the whole[225] –
Purling Spring –

[*p. 84 blank*]

[*p. 83*]
⟨Thomas⟩
Ive had a gay bit nap.
Theres something no canny about the box[226]
Ye take a warlock & tie him

Old Scot. had herded for many years on the grampian Hills – Saw Norvals grave there – & Macbeths Cassel – Present Laird o'Dunsinane is as himmil a mon as ever you saw in your life – he would talk wi you

223. More than forty years later Irving and Preston recalled these names: "Your allusions to Jones of the Brinn and Loch Katrine, brought up a host of recollections of pleasant scenes and of pleasant adventures which we enjoyed together in our peregrinations in England and Scotland in our younger days" (letter to W. C. Preston, Sunnyside, August 9, 1859; PMI, IV, 288).

224. Probably a comparison to an earlier impression. Irving had described in some detail the scenery near Llangollen and the Valle Crucis Abbey on his tour through Wales. See his entry for August 10, 1815 (p. 47).

225. Irving's enthusiasm for Byron's work was typical for the age. His journals are filled with gossip and reports of Byron. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, index. The most complete expression of his interest is found in "Newstead Abbey," in *The Crayon Miscellany* (*Works*, VIII, 347–459).

226. Irving already noted the line in referring to the pranks played on the old highlander Willie Symes. See p. 95.

just like an auld wife an for a that he had an awful knowledge o' the law.[227]

Mr. Isaac Allison of Northumberld [–] Large man who had been a fisherman & owned shipping[228]
Pass Dunstanborough Castle[229]

[*p. 82*]
Hume Castle – Willy Wassel[230]

Willy Wassel
Stands in his castle
& defies the King & all his men
to come & take it from him again

Roxborough Castle –
Dunstanborough Castle

[*p. 81*]
Mr Trotter[231] – Was at the same school with Scott Scott was not remarkable at school – Was very good humourd and blythe at play – Old Frazer at Edinburgh ⟨is his⟩ was the schoolmaster.
Scotts uncle says he did not show any poetic talents until 25 Years of age

[*p. 80*]
Contrast feelings awakend on visiting Scotland with those of Italy[232] –
Scotch ideals come nearer to my heart. witching songs of the nursery – earliest days of my childhood – my poor buried Sister[233] – Auld Lang

227. Repetitive of Willie Symes and his account of seeing Norval's grave, Macbeth's castle, and the characterization of the Laird of the Dunsinane. See p. 95. The phrase "awfu knowledge o' the law" is also found, substituting "history" for "law" ("Abbotsford," in *The Crayon Miscellany* [*Works*, VIII, 261]).

228. Already identified p. 94, n. 6.

229. Already identified and linked with Scott's *Marmion*; see p. 96.

230. Possibly an allusion to Burns' "Willie Wastle dwalt on Tweed,/The spot they ca'd it Linkumtoddie . . ." or an even earlier reference in rhyme, "'I Willie Wastle,/Am in my castle. . . .'" See *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, Cambridge Edition (Boston, 1897), p. 244.

231. Irving's traveling companion on board ship sailing for Berwick.

232. Irving had visited Italy on his first trip to Europe in 1804–1805. For details of Irving's impressions, see *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 104–348. The entry "Contrast . . . ivy" has a line drawn through it.

233. Irving's parents, natives of Scotland, arrived in New York, July 18, 1763. For the family genealogy, see STW, II, 241–54. Reference is to Irving's sister Ann

Syne – nothing remarkable in scenery of the country to the luxuriant scenery I have beheld – but they have shed the charms of poetry on every lesser hill & grey rock [–] made the desart to blossom as the rose – – old buildings – clothed with poetry as with ivy –

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ride from Johnstown[234] to ⟨Scotch⟩ Dutch Settlement [–] see Dutch Inn &c. Yankee Settlement

---

Sarah, who was thirteen years older and had died May 10, 1808. See letter of June 2, 1808, to Mrs. Hoffman: " . . . she was the tenderest, best of sisters, and a woman of whom a brother might be proud" (*Letters*, I, 257).

234. Irving visited Johnstown (near Schenectady and Albany), where his married sisters Ann Sarah and Catherine Rodgers lived, in 1800, 1802, and 1803. See PMI, 39, 45, 48.

NOTEBOOK 1817

This manuscript notebook, kept in England, is No. 3 of the Seligman Collection in the New York Public Library. It consists of 30 pages of a small notebook, 2½ × 4¾ inches, bound in blue silk and written entirely in pencil.

Alston
24 No. 8 Buckgm. Place
Fitzroy Sqr[1]
Mr Guy Livingston[2]
2 coats 1 Blue 1 Fancy
1 Surtout: & Box Coat

---

13 vol Edinbg. Mag.[3]
Boones a/c of Discovery of Kentucky[4] –

York Chop House
Wardour St[5]

[*p. 2*]
ardent insects[6]

[*p. 3*]
Whence I saw arising the mistey past

1. Washington Allston (1779–1843), the American painter and author, Irving's lifelong friend, resided at this London address. See Allston's letter, PMI, I, 362.

2. Possibly a London tailor from whom Irving ordered the clothing mentioned.

3. *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* began publishing in 1785, combined with *Scots Magazine* under that name in 1804, and eventually published as *The Edinburgh Magazine, and Literary Miscellany* until 1826.

4. Daniel Boone (1734–1820) was responsible for the exploration and settlement of Kentucky, but *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke . . .* (Wilmington, 1784) with an appendix containing *The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon*, was published by John Filson. The entire narrative, reprinted in England in the second and third editions (1793, 1797) of George (i.e., Gilbert) Imlay's *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, made Daniel Boone so well known that Byron paid tribute to him in stanzas 61–70, canto 8 of *Don Juan*. For further notes of Daniel Boone, see pp. 247–52, 263 and n. 49.

5. The Chop House on Wardour Street in the Soho area.

6. Upside down at bottom of an otherwise empty page.

The warriors of the air
From Toffees mount where urchins squander their hoarded pence emblem of spendthrift man[7]

[*p. 4*]
study her eyes. astrologers read fate Opera glasses
Starry influences
⟨If stars have⟩ I believe that stars have an influence[8]
Where vast Missouri rolls its idle wave[9]

[*p. 5 blank*]

[*p. 6*]
Story of a Member of Congress originally Schoolmaster &c

Sterny & his wife

Richd['s] two uncles who lived across a road & talked to each other – could hear them ¾ mile one Sept morning[10]

[*p. 7*]
[*two words unrecovered*] in the distance – Coloured sails – from Mid-stream – Church below–

[*p. 8*]
Il grande Diavolo.[11]
Story told me by old genoese after visit to the Cottage of Angelina – her love for Iacomo. Peasant who played on the reed – Their love crossed by the father –

Wandering with Iacomo. Meet a short strong brown man. His visit to her father – passes the night there. Invites Iacomo to visit him near the Bochetta [–] Iacomos visit to the Grand Devils encamp[men]t. he gives him money to marry angelina – Merchants visit to the camp Mussos adventures – Capture – my witnessing of his execution[12]

7. The entry, "Whence . . . man," is upside down.

8. Irving interested himself in astrology and alchemy because of his general concern with customs and superstitions of people. See his numerous entries in Haddon Hall, pp. 348–51, 353.

9. Line upside down at bottom of page.

10. The entry "Story . . . morning" is upside down.

11. Guiseppe Musso (1779?–1804) the notorious robber, whose execution Irving witnessed on November 14, 1804, was known as "The Great Devil of Genoa." See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 127–29.

12. In his first European journal Irving recorded in detail an excursion to Sestri and the meeting in the mountains with a ragged figure producing "a sufficient

[*p. 9 blank*]

[*p. 10*]
be contented with little and a small matter will delight you. A small rill is easily fed and readily made to overflow, but it takes torrents to swell a river

---

Cottage sheltered in a little green nook of rural quiet

[*p. 11*]
Speech of Presdt. should be plain & simple. He should be above rhetorical flourish & fine writing[13] –

[*p. 12*]
Celery
Red Cabbage
Cauliflower

[*p. 13 blank*]

[*p. 14*]
[*illegible*] morning [*line illegible*] China works Painting room to [*illegible*] about 15 artists engaged in drawing on china Stroll round the walls – along the stream. very shal[low] a horse can ford it [*illegible*] from Worcester to Tewksb[ur]y 15 miles thro picturesque country Approach to Tewksb[ur]y uncommonly beautiful – descend thence into a valley – a canal passing thro one part & the [*illegible*] thro another Tewksb[ur]y church remains of old convent church in the saxon style of architecture tomb of Ed. [*illegible*] Prince [*illegible*] buried after battle of Tewksb[ur]y [*illegible*] from the [*illegible*] of the church valley [*illegible*] by the road or [*illegible*]

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variety of notes to perform a few simple rustic airs" on "a simple piece of reed with three slits." Farther up the mountain in a stone cottage Irving met Angelica, one of three girls, "the handsomest female peasants that I have seen in Italy—or I may say in Europe." Though Irving mentions Angelina's love for Iacomo, nothing is said of parental opposition, Musso's financial assistance, or other details recorded here. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 124–27, where the name is spelled Iacimo.

13. The entry, "Speech . . . writing," is upside down. Whether Irving had President Madison, of whom he was somewhat critical, in mind here cannot be established. On his "Tour in Scotland" with William C. Preston, Irving probably heard some adverse comments about James Madison from his companion. "He wanted a talent for affairs, was deficient in tact, and in persistence of purpose." See *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston*, pp. 8–9.

[*p. 15*]
The road to Cheltenham about ½ mile distant on high ground. Called the bloody field. when the battle of Tewksb[ur]y was fighting
To one who has seen prosperity Pass as a dream[14] —

[*five lines illegible*]

[*p. 16*]
Shore at Bond & Barn
Barn of [*unrecovered*] Bank hole
Dandy actor type shouts the opera gags [*line illegible*]
see on her cheek what joys passion what heavenly glows sparkle in her eyes[15]

[*p. 17 contains penciled scribbles.*][16]

[*p. 18 blank*]

[*p. 19 has a pencil sketch of two ships*]

[*Two blank pages and one half page torn away*]

[*pp. 20–21 blank*]

[*p. 22 has a pencil sketch of a house in hills*]

[*p. 23 blank*]

[*p. 24*]

Parmely		$20
Steam boat fare		– 50
Breakfast	–	50
Constants[?] sow	–	38
Mending Plough		3.56
Mrs. Lawrence		
Mending coats	–	2.75
Steamboat	–	6.27

14. The passage "To . . . dream" is upside down.

15. The passage "Dandy . . . eyes" is upside down.

16. Pages 14–17 are not paper but stiff cardboard bound into middle of the notebook. They are discolored and almost illegible.

Gloves..... 75
Ribbon..... 50
Celery & Cabbage seed 25[17]

[*p. 25*]
Mr Conway
Portland Coffee House
Portland Street
Portland Place[18]

[*p. 26*]
from Ann
plains of Ansonia vale[19]

[*p. 27 blank*]

[*p. 28 contains a sketch of buildings identified by Irving* as "at Worcester"]

[*p. 29 blank*]

[*p. 30*]

I could have thot myself in sleep
Wilderd in fancys dream
Such motley figures round me sweep –

Seas & climes & rank & tongue
Mingled in gay confusion
The grave the gay the old ye young
Twas all one wild delusion

Grave turk quadrilled with gay monsiour
Chinese chin chind with Scott
Peasant was linkd with lordly peer
All differences forgot.[20]

17. The entries "Parmely . . . seed" are upside down; the last four entries are in ink.

18. This address, written sideways on the page in ink, is not in Irving's hand.

19. Possibly Ansonia on the Naugatuck river, just northwest of New Haven, Connecticut.

20. Unidentified, possibly Irving's verse.

NOTES CIRCA 1817

This fragmentary manuscript, consisting of five pages of Irving's notes and probably written in England in 1817, is part of the Clifton Waller Barrett Collection of Irvingiana in the library of the University of Virginia.

[*p. 1*]
An almanach maker He is tenant by custom to the planets, of whom he holds the twelve houses by lease parols, to them he pays yearly rent his study & his time x x x His life is merely contemplative for his practice is worth nothing[,] at least not worthy of credit – x x x x

Ptolomy and Tycho Brahe are his patrons, whose volumes he understands not, but admires, and the rather because they are strangers, and so easier to be credited than controuled[1]

An Inns of Court man, is distinguished from a scholar by a pair of silk stockings and a beaver hat, which makes him contemn a scholar, as much as a scholar does a school master.[2] By that he hath heard one *mooting* ⟨(⟩ [pleading a cause][3] and seen two plays, he thinks as basely of the university as a young sophister does of the Grammar school. He talks of the university with that state, as if he were her chancellor: finds fault with alterations, and the fall of discipline, with an "it was not so when I was a student," although that was within the last half year. He will talk [*p. 2*] new confusion, and all his thoughts new nations; his body and his ship are both one burthen, nor is it known who stows most

1. Ptolemy (fl. 127–141 or 151), celebrated Greco-Egyptian mathematician, was the last great astronomer of ancient times. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), Danish astronomer, settled near Prague under the patronage of the German emperor Rudolf II. Irving made extensive notes on astronomers and alchemists in his "Haddon Hall" notes, see pp. 348–51, 353, which he utilized in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall.*

2. Chancery Lane and the Inns of Court on the left bank of the Thames are the headquarters for barristers and solicitors. The four great Inns of Court, the Inner and Middle Temple, on the South of Fleet Street, Lincoln Inn in Chancery Lane, and Gray's Inn in Holborn were the colleges for the study of law and possessed the privilege of calling to the Bar.

3. The first bracket is written over a parenthesis; Irving or someone else then used brackets.

wine or rowls[4] most, only the ship is guided, he has no stern, a barnacle and he are bred together both of one nature, and 'tis feared one reason; upon any but a wooden horse he cannot ride x x x if ever he be broken to the saddle 'tis but a voyage still, for he mistakes the bridle for a bowling, and is ever turning his horses tail; he can pray but 'tis by rote, not faith, and when he wou'd he dares not, for his brackish belief hath made that ominous. A Rock or a quicksand pluck him before he be ripe, else he is gathered to his friends at Wapping[5] –

A meer scholar is an intelligible ass, or a silly fellow in black, that speaks sentences more familiarly than sense. The antiquity of his university is his creed, and the excellency of his College (tho' but for a match at football) an article of his faith; he speaks latin better than his mother tongue, and is a stranger in no part of the world but his own country x x University jests are his universal discourse, and his news the demeanour of the proctors –

[*p.* 3]
⟨Philip lane⟩

London Wall – a St. running from near cripplegate, to Moors fields – at the commencement, just opposite Sion house, is a morsel of Old London Wall.

Sion College. Aldermanbury – corner of Philip lane
Library
Hospital for 10 poor men & 10 poor Women. Small apartments – phials with witherd flowers in the windows –

Cripplegate
Fort St.
White Cross St.
Red Cross St.
} all not far from Little Britain – Old Streets containing here & there quaint buildings[6]

4. Rowls is an obsolete form of rolls.

5. Wapping is the riverside district to the south of the London Docks, about two miles below London Bridge.

6. Irving made systematic tours of London, taking notes of what he saw. Many of these streets still exist. Sion College was located on London Wall. Its library contained the most valuable theological collection in London. The sittings of the municipal corporation were held at Aldermanbury before they were moved to the Guildhall. Irving made use of some of these jottings in his writings. See his essay "Little Britain" in *The Sketch Book*. Irving also recorded some of these street names in "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 172 and n. 2.

At the upper end of Red Cross St. is a large building of Brick with Pelasters of same formerly of some importance – now divided into various tenements & occupied by Porkman, Biscuit baker & undertaker[.] Herring Court passes under one end of it –

[*p. 4*]

Barbican – old English buildings[7]

Goldenlane opposite Red Cross St. contrary to its name contains old shabby buildings –

Grub St. abandond to old clothes men – pawnbrokers &c – Old furniture – amazing swarm of ragged children – pretty girl at a cheese mongers – very quaint old buildings.[8]

Snow Hill –

Cocklane – din of a tinman & Japanner [–] large manufactory with many hammers.

⟨itinerant⟩ Old woman [–] itinerant merchant of cats meat holding forth to a household about a bloody murder – a reform meeting & the Court –

[*p. 5*]

Guildhall[9]

Court of requests aside of the grand entrance has a rich window – Gothic Statue of Queen [*blank*] in centre has beauty in the head which is gently inclined.

Giants – large bodied & shortlegged.[10]

Green arbour Court

—— —— Square – now principally inhabited by washerwomen – A vast number of children – at the least noise out pops heads from every window with long eard caps – and a hideous clamour of tongues ensues –

---

7. Barbican is the name of an old street a few blocks from Grub Street.

8. Grub Street, since 1830 named Milton Street, had been the residence of poor authors and was used as a symbol of literary hackwork.

9. The Guildhall or Councilhall of the city was rebuilt in 1789 after its destruction by the great fire of 1666.

10. The colossal wooden figures called Gog and Magog, carved by Saunders in 1708.

from Green arbour court you go down two great flights of stone steps called breakneck Stairs – cross Lea and lane – go through bear alley to fleet market[11] –

11. Green Arbour Court, associated with Oliver Goldsmith's struggle to achieve literary recognition, is described in greater detail but with these characterizations in "Buckthorne and His Friends," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works*, XXI, 157–58) and in Irving's *Oliver Goldsmith* (*Works*, IX, 132–36).

NOTES WHILE PREPARING SKETCH BOOK &C. 1817

This manuscript notebook, 6⅝ × 2⅜ inches, in a water stained blue paper cover, is part of the Collection of American Literature in the Beinecke Library of Yale University. It consists of 86 pages. All passages in this notebook are in ink unless otherwise indicated.

[*front inside cover*]
Killiekankrie
Parker House
Bannocburn
Craigie burn wood on the banks of the Moffat, where Burns met the Lassie wi the lint white Locks.

1817
Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c.[1]

[*p. [1]*]
See ⟨Grub St⟩
⟨[*unrecovered*]⟩
Wimple St
Richmond
Windsor[2]
Bill 1 . 8 . 6
Cartage 1
Cathedral 1 . 6
Preston 20
Wm Gray 7 . 12 . 4

27 . 12 . 4
Ann 15

28 7 4[3]

1. Killiecrankee Pass, not far from Blair Atholl, has historic significance because the Jacobites under Viscount Dundee defeated the troops of William III here in 1689. Parker House cannot be identified. At Bannockburn Robert Bruce defeated the army of Edward II in 1314.

Craigieburn Wood is the birthplace of Mrs. Whepdale, née Lorimer, of whom Burns became enamoured when he wrote the "Lassie wi' the Lint-white Locks."

2. Place names in and around London. Grub Street (now Milton Street),

⟨Smith⟩
⟨Campbell⟩ 8
⟨[*unrecovered*]⟩ 12
⟨go to Hotel Boston⟩
⟨write to Hamiltons⟩
Walter Hamilton[4]
4 Mill St
Hanover Sq.
⟨Booth⟩
⟨Grub St⟩
⟨Femp Bar⟩
⟨Glasgow Millers⟩
⟨South Morwick⟩
⟨Dinner & Dundee Whoop⟩
Seventy

[*[p. 2] Smudged and erased writing in pencil of which only the word* "mountaineer" *is legible*]

[*pp. 3 and 4 torn out*]

[*p. [5]*]
A pure & gentle current of kind affections flowing from the heart and bearing with it Sweet words & endearing looks[5] –

Grief that sits drooping with[6] [*unrecovered*] sighs and sets it

---

inhabited in the seventeenth century by needy authors and literary hacks. Possibly Irving meant Wimpole Street.

3. Irving frequently recorded expenditures. In June, 1817, he made an excursion to Runcorn and into Wales with William C. Preston (1794–1860) of South Carolina. The other names cannot be identified; the expenditures may be for services. The entries "See . . . 28 7 4" are on the front inside cover of the notebook, the entries "Preston . . ." to the end are upside down.

4. Walter Hamilton, whose London address follows his name, was the author of *The East India Gazeteer* (London, 1815), presenting descriptions of Hindostan and India. Irving met him at Murray's dinner, August 16, 1817. See Irving's entry, p. 201. These entries are on the flyleaf, which serves as page 1 of Irving's manuscript. Only the word "Seventy" is in pencil.

5. After a rubbed-out page and two torn out pages Irving's entries really begin with a felicitous phrase stored for future use. Many such passages appear in his notebooks, but only some found their way verbatim, revised, or expanded into his published writings.

6. Here follow ten lines in pencil, partially rubbed out and illegible, the last four upside down at bottom of page.

[p. [6]]

Landed at Berwick on Monday – Aug 25 1817.[7]

Persimmons ⟨3⟩ 11 0

Period of trouble is over [–] the world again quiet & prosperous while I sit like a shipwreckd mariner & look out upon the tranquil bosom of that deep ⟨which has ruind all my⟩ in which my hopes have been overwhelmed[8]

[p. 7]

The cauld blasts of the winter wind
That thrilled thro' my heart
They're a' blaun by; I hae him safe
Till death we'll never part;
But what puts parting in my head?
It may be far awa;
The present moment is our ain
The neist we never saw!
For theres na luck about the ↑house↓
Theres nae luck ava;
Theres little pleasure in the house
When our gude mans awa.

Song written by Jean Adam who instructed a few children in an obscure village of Scotland & who after wandering about from place to place & experiencing a variety of hardships & misfortunes, died in extreme wretchedness in the workhouse of Glasgow 1765.

for a further a/c of her see Cromek's Scottish Songs[9] –

[pp. [8–9] erased and illegible, except for dateline "Aug 21st 1817."]

7. Irving had left London on August 21 by boat for Berwick-on-Tweed and remained in Scotland until September 21 or 22, 1817. See Irving's "Tour in Scotland 1817," and his letters to his brother Peter of August 26 and September 1, 6, 20, and 22. See *Letters*, I, 490–93, 500–507.

8. This entry in pencil reveals Irving's unhappy mood in the face of the impending bankruptcy of his brothers' firm.

9. Irving copied (with slight inaccuracies in spelling and punctuation) the next to last stanza of a ballad by Robert Burns, commonly called "Song of the Mariner's Wife," found in *Select Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern; with Critical Observations and Biographical Notes*, ed. Robert H. Cromek (London, 1810), I, 67–70. His note on Jean Adam (1710–1765) is derived from this volume, pp. 189–99. The ballad was first heard in 1772 and appeared in Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (London, 1776). The authorship of the ballad is not fully established.

[*p. [10]*]

Leave Berwick at 2 oclock in coach for Edinburgh – bleak ride along the sea coast – Lowring weather [–] begins to rain & have to go ⟨in the⟩ inside where I find clergyman & his wife & two little girls – pretty children. Road winds through valleys – some of them picturesque and rather destitute of trees – pass a ruind tower. See the ruins of a convent just under Traprain mountain. Scanty shew of trees

Pass thro Dunbar – old town –

---

rich fields of Lothian [–] abundant crops of grain –

Sea coast. Waves dashing & breaking on the rocks.

[*p. [11]*]

Get into Edinburgh 10 Oclock at night under heavy rains[10]

[*p. [12]*]

Tuesday – { Jedburgh thro
Melrose
8 oclock Mng
Star Hotel[11]

British Hotel
Crown

Presbyterian appellation of an organ – "a chest full of whistles" –
The Episcopal chapel at Glasgow "the whistling Kirk."

---

cut off from the community of all brave spirits

---

10. In a letter to Peter, dated August 26, 1817, Irving explained a change in his plans: ". . . about twelve o'clock I landed at Berwick. I had intended proceeding from thence to Kelso, and so to Melrose, &c.; but I found there would be no coach in that direction until Wednesday; so I determined to come to Edinburgh direct, and visit Melrose from thence. After walking about Berwick, . . . I mounted a coach and rattled off through the rich scenes of Lothian to this place, where I arrived late last night" (*Letters*, I, 491).

11. Tuesday, August 26, is the day after Irving's arrival in Edinburgh where he stayed until August 29, seeing the city and nearby places. These and some of the following jottings suggest Irving's sightseeing while visiting Walter Scott, but also memoranda of historical facts pertaining to the area. For details of his itinerary see "Tour in Scotland 1817," pp. 97–101.

[*p. [13]*]

Montrose marched down the Gala & up the Tweed to Philiphaugh – opposite Selkirk

Leslie came from England at head of his iron squadrons – came down Gala to Melrose [–] defeated Montrose who retreated up Yarrow to Traquair – 15 miles distant

Leslie shot prisoners in Newark Court Yard or ⟨threw them over the high bridge into ye Tweed⟩

– This battle terminated Montroses Career & determined the fate of his country[12]

When they came to the Shawburn
Said he Sae weel we frame
I think it is convenient
That we should sing a psalm[13]

Shaw Burn runs into the ettrick near Selkirk – South side now

---

Lingley Burn – from north a little above the other

[*p. [14]*]

Carter Haugh at the confluence of Ettrick & Yarrow about a mile above Selkirk two miles below Newark Castle[14]

Boat came not far from Carterhaugh

Dowie Dens of Yarrow – Scott murdered by his Kinsmen[15]

---

12. James Graham, fifth earl and first marquess of Montrose (1612–1650) was in control of Scotland for a short time after defeating the Lowland Presbyterian army of Archibald Campbell, eighth earl of Argyll in six engagements in 1644–1645. David Leslie (d. 1682) defeated him at Philiphaugh in 1645 and Montrose fled to Norway. The details of Irving's notations are taken directly from the account of the Battle of Philiphaugh in Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of The Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1902), II, 209–11. See also "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 130 and n. 127.

13. The fourth stanza of "The Battle of Philiphaugh," in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, II, 215.

14. Shaw burn and Lingly burn are place names mentioned in "The Battle of Philiphaugh." Newark Castle is the scene where the "Last Minstrel" recited his famous Lay. These and other place names are also recorded by Irving in "Tour in Scotland 1817" and are annotated in detail there.

15. The ballad, "The Dowie Dens of Yarrow," also in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, III, 182–86, recounts the story of Scott's murder. See also "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 130 and n. 131.

Smaylhome tower Eve of St John.[16]

[*p. [15]*]
Philips War[17]
Hadley – delivery by the Regicide

Battle in the Swamp with Philip & Canonchet.

Dutch pirates employed agst. philip – their pursuit of the ⟨former⟩ latter –

Witchcraft – trial of a witch

Muster of men to go against the Indians

---

16. Walter Scott's early ballad "The Eve of St. John" (1799) was written at the playful request of the owner of the tower of Smailholm (*The Complete Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, Cambridge Edition, pp. 14–17). Irving refers in detail to Scott's account of his childhood recollections of this area but calls it "Smallholm Tower." See "Abbotsford,' in *Crayon Miscellany* (*Works*, VIII, 306–8).

17. This entry and all the rest on pages 15 and 16 of the original manuscript stem from Irving's reading, but it is not clear whether all of the sources became available to him in England and Scotland. He wrote to Henry Brevoort, March 15, 1816: "I wish you would send ↑to↓ me the numbers of the Analectic Mag. that have the traits of Indian character—& the story of King Philip . . . ;" and again on January 29, 1817: " . . . I wish you to send me . . . . a copy that you have in your possession of *'Styles Judges'* it is a little, old book giving an account of the regicides Who took refuge in America" (*Letters*, I, 437, 469). The volume about the regicides was probably Ezra Stiles, *A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I. Majorat Whalley, Major General Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1794). These essays, "Traits of Indian Character" and "Philip of Pokanoket: An Indian Memoir," had appeared in 1814 in the *Analectic Magazine*, February and June issues respectively, and were to be included in *The Sketch Book*.

Some of the items may be traced to historical sources, though particular editions used by Irving cannot be named. Among such volumes available to him when writing his essays for the *Analectic Magazine* or possibly to be utilized now were: Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay . . .* (London, 1760); Increase Mather, *The History of King Philip's War* (Boston, 1676) ed. S. G. Drake (Boston, 1862); Increase Mather, *Early History of New England* (first published as *A Relation of the Troubles Which Have Hapned in New-England by Reason of the Indians there . . .* [Boston, 1677], ed. S. G. Drake (Boston, 1864). The passage about "Captain Wadsworth with 100 Men" comes from "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England" by N[athaniel] S[altonstall], a rare pamphlet of 1676 accessible now in *Narratives of the Indian Wars 1675–1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York, 1913), p. 93, but Irving writes "100 Indians" where the account says "a 1000 strong."

Old Indian takes a young Englishman prisoner. Vide the indian Story –

———

Deacon Peabodys exploits

———

Scenery on the Connecticut

———

Capt Wadsworth with 100 Men surrounded on a hill by 100 Indians – The latter set fire to the woods to the windward – &c. P. 10.

[*p. [16]*]

Stone-wall – or Stone-layer – John an Indian

———

Young Englishman rides into the town –
In love with governors daughter –

———

Fights with indians

———

Battle of the swamp

———

Taken by King philip

———

taught arts of war

———

Story of the peasant captured by the indians. Old Salmons story – rescued by the young Englishman. finds his mother on the point of being denounced for a Witch –

———

Story of Marse[18]

———

Woman rocking her child by the fire side sees an indian face glaring in at the window –

———

[*p. [17]*]

There is something in the very sight of an honest citizen (a painstaking husband) patiently fagging at the head of a numerous family on a party of pleasure that warms my heart: The ⟨English⟩ man is completely surrounded by women. all his feelings have become domestic – fatherly [–] he has no solitary selfish pleasures

A party of pleasure is a serious undertaking & he goes about it in a

18. Unidentified. Irving also referred to this story in "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 118.

business style – with a face full of care [–] see him with a hale comfortable spouse & a bevy of grown up daughters[19]

Man who rose quietly S[uccess]ful surely by the vigour of his own talents –
Blockhead shouted into transient notoriety.

[*p. [18]*]
Indians concealed behind a fence -- cattle stand staring that way refusing to pass

---

Cattle come home bleeding & frighted from the woods – a Sign of Indians.[20]

Story of a sloop defended from Indians – vide Mather[21] –
Sweet reflections & elevated abstractions that visit the mind in the hours of solitude – Sent from heaven like manna in the wilderness
They are the proper aliment of noble minds[22]

[*p. [19]*]
In the days of early youth before I had lost a friend or experienced a disaster[23]

Sultry afternoon. children relieved from school hurrying to river & plunging in sporting about ⟨with the delight of children⟩ [–] children brought up on the margins of our rivers are almost amphibious –

---

19. Compare the description "Forth issues from his mansion the family of the decent tradesman, the small children in advance; then the citizen and his comely spouse, followed by the grown-up daughters . . ." in "A Sunday in London," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works,* XIX, 159–60).

20. In "Philip of Pokanoket" Irving wrote: ". . . the cattle which had been wandering in the woods would sometimes return home wounded . . ." in *The Sketch Book* (*Works,* XIX, 418).

21. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England* . . . (London, 1702), bk. 7, chap. 6, para. 7, p. 47. This account was taken from Increase Mather's *The History of King Philip's War.*

22. This passage is the germ for an elaborate description of the mind of William Roscoe (1753–1831), poet and historian, whom Irving met and idealized: "The solitude of such a mind is its state of highest enjoyment. It is then visited by those elevated meditations which are the proper aliment of noble souls, and are, like manna, sent from heaven, in the wilderness of this world" ("Roscoe," in *The Sketch Book* [*Works,* XIX, 34]).

23. The first in a series of such personal reflections on grievous losses or painful experiences. "Sweet . . . disaster" is written in pencil.

Pond in the country inhabited by huge Bullfrog – his bellowing on summer evenings – Superstitious horror that the children had of ⟨his⟩ it – as we came home from school at twilight –

Water Snakes – Anthony Bartows story of one which he saw when shooting

---

Solitary pond frequented by white cranes[24] –

[*p. [20]*]

⟨Society⟩ gone down like a ↑founderd↓ bark while the cold waves close over it & ↑run↓ dimpling on, without a trace of the ⟨p⟩ bark that lately rode so proudly on their Surface[25]

[*p. [21] blank*]

[*p. [22]*]

⟨Invisible Hand of Cadlle & Davies⟩[26]
Shakespeare & his Times By Drake
Cadlle & Davies
Manners – a novel Baldwin Cradock &c
The Colonies by De Pradt Ditto
Knight of St John[27]

[*p. [23]*]

In literature Poetry is like classical architecture – ⟨whi⟩ should be

24. The preceding four entries resemble the following passage: "Our greatest trial was to pass a dark, lonely pool, covered with pond-lilies, peopled with bull-frogs and water-snakes, and haunted by two white cranes. Oh! the terrors of that pond! How our little hearts would beat as we approached it, and what fearful glances we would throw around! And if by chance a plash of a wild duck, or the guttural twang of a bull-frog, struck our ears, as we stole quietly by—away we sped, nor paused until completely out of the woods" ("Mountjoy," in *Wolfert's Roost* [*Works,* XXVII, 60–61]).

25. Favorite words like "dimpling" or "rills" and the metaphor of the foundering bark occur repeatedly in Irving's notebooks and essays.

26. Thomas Cadell, the younger (1773–1836) continued his father's successful publishing firm with William Davies (d. 1820) as a partner under the name of Cadell & Davies.

27. Nathan Drake, *Shakespeare and His Times: Including the Biography of the Poet* . . . (London, 1817); Frances Moore, *Manners,* 3 vols. (London, 1817) (a novel); Dominique de Fourt de Pradt, *The Colonies and the Present American Revolution,* trans. from the French (London, 1817); Anne M. Porter, *The Knight of St. John* (London, 1817) (a romance). These book titles may indicate some of Irving's reading at this time. The name Baldwin Cradock could not be identified. The entries "Invisible . . . John" are upside down on page.

formed of the finest materials – we build temples with the choicest marbles. who would build a temple with brick & [*blank*] Hunt a mason with dirty apron and trowel.[28]

In society more dignity and simplicity of character is reserve – more general agreeableness in being social & communicative

The former like a stream that runs in single or deep channels – the other like a stream introduced into a garden that is scattered in rills & visits every flowr

[*p. [24]*]

Hypocrite in grief

When a man only expresses what he really feels there are limits to his transports – but he who affects grief ⟨has no bounds to his⟩ has no bounds & may bluster the other into insignificance

---

Clergyman & his sermon on the fast day[29] –

Funeral in cathedral – tread of feet on the stone pavt. Cold wind coming through the aisles –

When she ⟨looked up⟩ ↑laid her hand↓ on my shoulder & lookd with one of those sweet smi[30]

[*p. [25]*]

Painting of portraits, preserving the images of those we loved in their most beautiful moments –

My life has been a varied one sometimes passed in the whirl of city and the dissipation of society & sometimes in the depths of the forest in solitude & silent places

---

so very wretched[31]

28. Irving's criticism of Leigh Hunt's *Rimini* (1816) and his distaste for the commonplace in poetry is expressed similarly as the "common stone mason with dirty apron & trowel in hand sometimes building with marble & sometimes with rubbish—" (in "Tour in Scotland 1817." See p. 104).

29. "Invisible . . . day—" is written in pencil.

30. A fuller description of the solemn service in the cathedral and specific referenees to Matilda Hoffman's death appear on pp. 185–86. "When . . . smi" is written in pencil upside down at bottom of page.

31. "My life . . . wretched" is written in pencil upside down at bottom of page.

[*p. [26]*]

England so richly dight with palaces – earth so studded & gemmed with castles & palaces – so embroiderd with parks & gardens So storied – so wrought up with pictures. – Let me wander along the ⟨banks⟩ streams of beautiful England & dream of my native rivers [–] of my beautiful native country.[32]

[*p. [27]*]

Nothing in general is more idle & indeed troublesome than verbal consolation under affliction. The heart alone is capable of digesting its own sorrows in silence & meditation. There is a healing power in the mind as in the body: and as the more healthful the temperament the sooner will the flesh medicine its own wounds[;] so the purer & more virtuous the spirit the sooner will it ⟨monitor⟩ heal the piercings & heartrendings of sudden calamity.

So that those wounds which in more corrupt natures require all the soothings and ministr[i]ngs of outward appliances, ⟨with every aid that can kill the pain or divert the mind⟩ do in them soon close and heal up; from the gently operating but potent balm which they carry in their own natures.[33]

[*p. [28]*]

Sweet retired melancholy.

⟨Steeping himself in the pasttimes of literature.⟩

He seeks the deep seclusion of ⟨the academic law⟩ studious solitude to bathe in the pure fountains of literrature –

⟨In the stillness of⟩

abstracted from the world & its vanities & buried in his own meditations ⟨His thoughts come gathering at on upon him⟩ and all his feelings which were dispersed and flutterd abroad by the world come gathering home upon him & nestling in his bosom –

What sweet consciousness of innocent existence diffuses a serenity through his heart. What worthy thoughts what ⟨spiritual⟩ ↑elevated↓ abstractions fill his whole soul and lift it to the heavens.

If we might judge from verse like this & all that we have heard
Castalias streams is nought but
Parnassus but a[34]

32. The passage, "England . . . country," is upside down.

33. Similar thoughts and some identical phrases of this passage "Nothing . . . natures" are also in the letter to Mrs. Hoffman, dated Liverpool, November 23, 1817 (*Letters*, I, 512). "Nothing . . . natures" is written in pencil.

34. "If . . . a" is upside down on page.

[*p. [29]*]

How the truth presses home upon us as we advance in life that everything around us is transient & uncertain – It is one of those common truths that sleep in our ears – ⟨that we⟩ never hold ↑it↓ until we feel it withering at our hearts – until it is tolled in the funeral of our friends and written on the wrecks of our hopes & affections –

When I look back for a few short years what changes of all kinds have taken place ↑what wrecks of time & fortune are↓ strewn around me.

Is this a period of time peculiar for its vicissitudes – or is the circle in which I have moved been particularly subject to vicissitude, or is it indeed but the common lot of man as he advances in life to find the blows of fate & fortune thickening around him.

Sorrow & misfortune is the lot of us all until we go down to quietness and the grave[35]

[*p. [30]*]

Old Mr Willis one day told Charles that he had better ask his tutor down from Oxford to stop some part of the vacation with him – "By the way," replied Charles ["]talking of tutors do you know that I discharged my tutor about a year since and keep a horse in his place[?"] – ["]Ah,["] said the old gentleman mildly – "I was not aware of that Charles["] –

(the old gent. had given him an allowance for a Tutor –)[36]

[*p. [31]*]

Lord Barrymore lived at Cheltenham for months at a time – never paid a Bill – a very accomplishd tho' dissolute man – was accompanied by a Scottish Doctor who looked upon him as the greatest man in ye world – At night his Lordship would come home late from a party with some of his wild companions & would rouse up the Doctor & the rest of the family. The Doctor was stationed in one corner of the room with a fiddle – one boy at a piano another under the table – ⟨cards would be⟩

⟨In the⟩ His lordship had a habit of saying – May that be the last glass of wine you can drink – or if dealing cards may that be the last trump you ever play &c at which the boy at the piano would strike up – Accompanied by the doctor with his fiddle & the boy under the table with his voice & chaunt *Amen* – which his lordship had set to music.

35. Compare "St. Mark's Eve," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works,* IV, 158). "Sorrow . . . grave" is written in pencil.

36. The incident of Charles and his tutor is used at the end of "Horsemanship," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works,* IV, 129).

[*p. [32]*]

The silence with which every melancholy rite concerning the deceased is performed [–] the mute and noiseless tread of attendants – suppressed voices as if they feared disturbing the everlasting sleep of the deceased – Gloomy chambers – the air seems to catch the Deaths stillness[37]

[*p. [33]*]

The tear sprang into his eye as he spoke –

Personages on lake Champlain. Bottle conjuror – old women with red cloaks. Crane the Landlord – Young Norval the actor.[38] Page the smuggler. *Abhorson* in the light blue coat – pavillion – Bully Rook & his lady at Skenesborough[39] –

Old man who commanded the boat crossing lake Champl. – standing up & giving orders – I pay him very well &c[40] –

Diogenes & Socrates –

Lads that rowed us up the lake & sang.

[*p. [34]*]

Rich men in this country engross the beautiful women and thus command by their money what they could not gain by their agreeableness. They buy ⟨L'amour qu'il ne pouvait pas faire⟩ the love they cannot make[41]

---

37. "The . . . stillness" is in pencil upside down at bottom of page. Possibly the passage, "The bed of death, with all its stifled griefs—its noiseless attendance—its mute, watchful assiduities . . ." ("Rural Funerals," in *The Sketch Book* [*Works*, XIX, 208]) is based upon this notation.

38. A facetious reference, alluding to young Norval in John Home's popular play, *The Tragedy of Douglas or the Noble Shepherd* (1756). Irving also refers to Norval in "Tour in Scotland 1817." See p. 95.

39. Irving was at Skenesborough from May 5 to May 10, and from May 31 to June 1, 1808, on his way to and from Montreal. In a letter to Brevoort, dated May 9 (*Letters*, I, 255–56), and in pencil memoranda (PMI, I, 217) he mentions "Bully Rook, mine host of the Garter." The expression bully rook is found in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (I, iii, 2) as a term for a jolly companion. It occurs again in another letter of January 13, 1811. See *Letters*, I, 297.

40. Irving was not again at Skenesborough until 1832 and the nature of the notation seems to indicate that it was written in 1808 and not as a reminiscence in 1817. Irving may have used this notebook as he did in other cases, intermittently before his departure for Europe and later again while abroad.

41. Irving translated the canceled French phrase.

Missouri ↑comes↓ pouring down in all his magnificence[42] –

Friendships formed with females in early life are transient – they originate in some attraction of beauty – grace – sprightliness or romance which time soon steals from them Women are like flowers which soon lose their beauty & exhale their sweetness and are dull uninteresting weeds afterwards. They are subject to such changes & perishings. Marriage alters them &c – ⟨it was my notion in early life⟩ He that ⟨pl⟩ devotes himself to them is like one that devotes himself to raising flowers – He continually sees his favourites changing & fading under his eye – ⟨It was my lot in early life to place my affections too much in the a flower garden – by chance however I would⟩ now & then sowed an Acorn. ⟨the former have faded away – the latter have grown up into noble plants. but⟩ & in the winter of age they are all gone. but

[*p. [35]*]
he that forms sure & stable friendships is like one who sows acorns[43] –

[*p. 36 blank*]

[*p. [37]*]

I heard a soft & plaintive voice singing Angels ever bright & fair – my heart melted at the words I drew into a corner of the cathedral and covering my face with my hands drank in the exquisitely mournful sounds. My heart felt as if it would melt within me -- ⟨All that was pure⟩ The reccollection of Matilda – ever allied in my mind to all that is pure spiritual & ⟨heaven⟩ seraphic in woman came stealing over my soul – I recalled all the scenes of our early ⟨affection⟩ ↑attachment↓ – of her gentleness – her purity – ⟨her sweetness⟩ & her kind[?] affection – as the ⟨celestial sounds⟩ soft voice of the muse seemd to ascend [⟨*unrecovered*⟩] my soul seemed lifted up with it to heaven. ⟨such were the last notes of the organ that⟩ I reccollected Matildas parting ⟨messa⟩ scene – the agony of her death[,] the seraphic years of her blessedness – She was•[*p. [38]*] now in heaven – among angels ever bright & fair – while I – lonely – desolate – humiliatd – was grovelling ⟨in⟩ a miserable worm upon earth – Oh Matilda where was the soul-felt ⟨rap⟩ devotion – the buoyancy – the ⟨bright⟩ consciousness of worth & happiness that once seemd to lift me from the earth when ⟨I gazed with⟩ our eyes interchanged silent but eloquent vows of affection and I seemed to imbibe a degree of ⟨purity and⟩ virtue & purity by associating with all that was virtuous

42. An entry made probably during Irving's western tour in 1832. Compare entry in "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 159 and Irving's letter to Mrs. Paris, dated St. Louis, September 13, 1832 (*Letters*, II, 722–25).

43. The passage reflects personal recollections, probably recalling his early love for Matilda Hoffman.

& pure – ⟨What⟩ How innocent – how gentle – how lovely was then my life – How has it changed since – what scenes have I gone through since thou hast left me – what jarring collisions with the world – what heartless pleasures – what sordid pursuits – what ⟨vile as⟩ gross associations – what rude struggles – How has my heart lost all its tune – that heart that then was all tenderness & melody – – How has it become depraved – heardend – deadend – worldly. Misfortunes have crushed me to the earth – the cares of the world have hurried through my heart & worn it bare – I feel like one witherd up & blighted – ⟨in⟩ broken heart is like a desert wherein can flourish no green thing – The romance of life is past

[*p. [39] blank*]

[*p. [40]*]

While these reflections of mine ceased – crowd dispersed – sees old woman tottering to the grave of a son[44] –

[*p. [41]*]

The seeds of genius are scatterd about the earth and spring up when least expected ⟨some fall⟩ We occasionally see the fruits struggling for existence in a niggard soil but occasionally some vigorous plant that has taken ↑vigorous↓ root among rock & stony places, ⟨and is em⟩ & embellishes with its luxuriance the surrounding sterility[45]

[*p. [42]*]

The laird of Arroquhar on Loch long was reduced by misfortunes [–] the family mansion was sold & converted into an Inn A Scotsh peasant ↑one of the vassals↓ who had been in the Army & served in America returnd home ⟨& found the⟩ after the change. His ⟨distress⟩ ↑emotion↓ was the theme of conversation in the country – he said he had served in the wars – he had been in many battles – he had seen his companions & friends shot down by the side and had stood it all unmoved. But when he came home & saw his Lairds house turnd into an Inn, it was too

44. These reflections are the most personal in the notebook and reveal Irving's constant thought of Matilda Hoffman. The longest account of Irving's love for her and his grief at her death, a sixteen-page fragment probably written in 1823 for his Dresden friends, the Fosters of Bedford, is printed in full by S. T. Williams. (See STW, II, 255–62). Some echoes of the passage can be found in "Westminster Abbey," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works,* XIX, 249–50), where the effect of the organ music is described at length, and in "The Widow and Her Son," (*ibid.*, p. 151), where the aged mother "feebly tottered after the corpse." See also the entry "I saw her die—" in "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 125.

45. This is another entry that Irving later expanded and used. See "Roscoe," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works,* XIX, 31).

much – there seemd nothing more worth living for – the world was not worth living in –

[*p. [43]*]
Letter from a remote village where a newspaper comes once a week[46]

Venerable old man who is religious. his religion sheds a holy radiance round his character. It is like the sun beaming on a time [?] worn town with the golden light of heaven

---

Like an old town lighted up by the last beams of day

[*p. [44]*]
The power of music to calm the passions and sooth the tumults and agonies of the heart – It is like oil pourd on the troubled waves (on troubled waters)
⟨–Soft subdued tones in the minor key–⟩

---

with keen ↑eagles↓ eye drinks in the solar beam

[*p. [45]*]

Pours on the town its most refulgent smile
And sheds a holy grandeur on the pile
All [*blank*] the noble pile appears
from the lapse of years[47]

veteran coquette whose heart is all in wrinkles

I have seen the world I have tasted its plasures I have explored its recess & what have I gaind what but a distaste for life and distrust for mankind Oh that I had never strayed beyond the Solitudes of my native Alleghanys

[*p. [46]*]

Let fortunes gifts at random flee
They neer shall draw one wish frae me
Supremely blest wi' luve & thee
In the birks of Aberfeldy[48]

46. Such a remote village is portrayed in "The Creole Village," in *Wolfert's Roost* (*Works,* XXVII, 45–56).

47. Unidentified verses, probably Irving's own.

48. The fifth stanza of Burns' "The Birks of Aberfeldie," somewhat inaccurately cited. Irving visited Aberfeldy. See "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 147.

I can remember the day when the least joy would move me, when a little pastoral air filled my mind with ideas of rural beauty and I could weep myself into a sweet slumber to some familiar little ditty of many dreams[49]

[*p. [47]*]

Marriage advisable – in early life – vide essay on taxing Bachelors

Women most capable of sustaining reverses of fortunes – generally find them comforting the man.

Young gentleman of my acquaintance married to a young & lovely woman brought up elegantly

By a reverse of fortune he was reduced to almost penury – Seemed to feel it most as it affected his wife – ⟨comforted him by assuring him – after woman⟩ had taken a small cottage in the country & had put out furniture there – had been busy all day – I accompanyed him out in the evening – ⟨his whole⟩ he was worried ⟨by⟩ & dispiritd by the fatigues of the day at the [*smudged word*] but [*unrecovered*] libberty & the thoughts of having reduced her to such humble fare – as we approached the cottage she came tripping down to the gate dressed in a simple white rural dress [*p. [48]*] ⟨her hair⟩ a few flowers twisted in her hair – a ⟨bloom⟩ bright bloom on her face and her whole countenance beaming with smiles. ↑I never saw her look so lovely↓ My dear Charles said she I am glad youve come – Ive set out the table in one of the sweetest little bowers, and Ive got a dish of the most delicious strawberries & cream and every thing here is so sweet & beautiful [–] its like a little paradise [–] my poor friend was over come [–] he clasped her ⟨in his arms⟩ ↑to his bosom↓ – he folded his arms round her – he kissed her again & again – the tears started into his eyes – but I saw at that moment he was the happiest man in the world[50]

[p. *[49]*]

Periodical writers talk much of lounging about the town observing characters – & give the idea of an independent lounger as a happy being – life of a butterfly It is because they do not know what it is. The man who lounges from one public resort to another is of all beings the most ennuyed & restless – he is peevish – discontented & joyless – These poor authors were generally on the keen hunt after a dinner[51]

Yellow Sea—archipelago of 1000 Islands speculation thereon –

---

49. "I . . . dreams" upside down at bottom of page.

50. The passage "Marriage . . . world" was expanded into the ten-page essay "The Wife," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 39–49).

51. The passage already suggests the theme developed in "Buckthorne and His Friends," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works* XXI, 143–87).

China – 200 millions of inhabitants

Account supposed written at China of the English landing at Lew Chow[?] of the English frigate & visitors

[*p. [50]*]

Intercourse in fashionable society like reading a circulating library – all novels & light works that you can read but once through & then throw them aside – get thro shelves full in a hurry. When you have read one or two you have read all – lucky if you can find half a dozen standard volumes in the whole. Books of reference & several that you can return to & take up at all times with delight & improvement –

I sated myself with this kind of society – ⟨I longed like a⟩ with all the caprice of a blackletter hunter I turned to some old dutch volumes – bound in parchment & closely clasped – old dutch families – that visited each other. ⟨However⟩ had few ideas beyond their own family set – never visitd beyond their own connexions – ate family dinners – dull – quiet & domestic – I unclasped them – worked into these family sets – read them thro & thro & grew tired of them[52]

[*pp. [51–52] torn out*]

[*p. [53]*]

Seated with friend in a snug country house. Autumnal storm. leaf whirled agst the window

He was melancholy – and seemed little disposed to talk – nothing seemed to excite him or to ⟨kindl kindle up those fine flight train of thought that seem were⟩ draw forth more than a casual observation – yet every ⟨idea⟩ thought he utterd ⟨betrayed the latent poetry that⟩ breathed the poetry of his mind – it was like the sweet tuning of an instrument, accidentally touched – betraying all the latent melody that lurked within –

[*p. [54]*]

Heres the Bower she loved so much
And the tree she planted
Heres the harp she loved to touch
Oh how that touch enchanted

52. "Intercourse . . . them" is upside down on p. 50 and the phrase "thro . . . them" is upside down at bottom of previous page, but obviously completes the sentence.

Roses now unheeded sigh
Wheres the hand to wreathe them
Songs around neglected lie
Wheres the lip to breathe them

Spring may bloom but she we lovd
Neer shall feel its sweetness
Time that once so fleetly movd
Now hath lost its fleetness

Years were days when here she strayd
Days were moments near her
Heaven neer formed a brighter maid
Nor pity wept a dearer[53]

[*p. [55]*]

⟨The remains of man who had been buried in boots & spurs⟩

The remains of a man were dug up who had been buried in Boots & Spurs. It was observed by a bye stander that he must have died of a galloping consumption

---

An officer ⟨during⟩ ↑on service in↓ the peninsular war kept a Spanish girl – on his return to England a friend asked if he had brought her with him – He replied – no – that it was only a transient connection – oh ⟨rep⟩ observed the other I presume she was *hors du combat*

[*p. [56]*]

Society is painful to me. Whenever I am going around I feel neglected. I think there are none at my command. Shallow looks – faint smiles &c but when I get into the country I am another being – The trees look as green to me as in the days of my prosperity [–] the flowers send forth as delicate a fragrance – nature never changes (the birds sing as sweet a melody

---

Just then poor tray came bounding towards me – And thou too I cried are a constant friend – thy love does not depend on the fortune of thy master[54]

53. Thomas Moore's ballad, somewhat inaccurately cited and omitting each stanza's refrain, "Here's the bower. . . ." See *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (London, 1841), V, 162.

54. The passage "Society . . . master," is written upside down. This mood of weariness of society is voiced in many of Irving's letters. See also "Mountjoy," in *Wolfert's Roost* (*Works*, XXVII, 107–8).

[*p. [57]*]

Hernall a aberesse [?]

Old french Bachelor living on the town – no home feelings – habits like an old male cat that lives about a neighbourhood – in garrets &c [—] no home & never comes by a fire side except after the family have gone to bed in the course of his maraudings

There are some sorrows that tend to elevate & spiritualize our natures – others that debase it and bring it to the earth –

Grave of Genl Wm. Lachen[.] Renounces[?] prepared speech.[55]

[*p. [58]*]

I sat on one of the ridges of the Alleghany and watched the carriage as it slowly rolled down the rugged road. Every now and then I saw a handkerchief waved from the window. at last at the final turn of the road I saw her lean out of the carriage and wave a last adieu I never saw her more

parting with the roving[?] poles[?] in the mountains near river

[*p. [59]*]

Gazing traveller who hunts the world for fine sights –

And the cold tide runs dimpling as before

---

fine lady going to a party of pleasure in a hackney coach – two poor animals flogged the whole way & made to suffer excruciating pain that she may secure three moments additional pleasure

small chasks of black wine – gloomy coffee room &c &c &c

Birmingham news mongers[56]

3£

[*p. [60]*]

Frenchman. fiddler at the English theatre – plays away until bell rings for curtain to rise. lays down fiddle stick. takes a long pinch of snuff – pulls out col[oure]d. cott[on] Hkf – blows nose – gives one look of contempt at the stage & dives thro the low door – no idea of seeing such trumpery.[57]

French eating house & the visitants –

---

55. The passage, "There . . . speech," is upside down at bottom of page.

56. The passage, "small . . . mongers," written in pencil, is upside down at bottom of page.

57. Perhaps the model for the French fiddler in "A Contented Man," in *Wolfert's Roost* (*Works*, XXVII, 258–66).

Englishmat[58] at coffee house [–] wet day – comes in with mouth drawn at the corners & anguish of eye. glances a despairing look at the paper in hand of another man who is reading at great leisure – rings for waiter [—] glances again [—] orders beef steak[59]

[*p. [61]*]

– She died. It seemed as if all the odour of life was exhaled. There was no longer joy under the sun – the world was a blank & nothing was left worth living for[60]

---

a face the titlepage to a volume of misery[61]

⟨I owe P. 38 . 17 . 1
Half of money remaining in purse } –1 . 5 . 6
£ 40 . 2 . 7⟩[62]

[*p. [62]*]

She had walked out to the cottage in the morning

[*p. [63]*]

Should the rude hand of care wound my partner in life
He always shall find his best friend in his wife
In the midst of his woes if on me hell recline
His sorrows his anguish his tears shall be mine[63]

Is there for honest poverty
That hangs his head & a that
The coward slave we pass him by
We dare be poor & a that[64]

[*p. [65]*]

The dust

58. Irving meant to write "Englishman" and anticipated the next word.

59. "Frenchman . . . steak," written in pencil, is upside down.

60. Again a reference to Matilda Hoffman's death. A similar entry is in "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 125.

61. A favorite metaphor of Irving's, occurring many times in various forms.

62. Irving's accounting of travel expenses shared with Preston is upside down at bottom of page.

63. Unidentified quotation.

64. The first four lines of Burns' "Is There for Honest Poverty" with some inaccurate transcriptions.

⟨I have been extremely disappointed in not meeti In conquer of dententio⟩ I cannot express how much I have been ⟨disappointd in not seeing or meeting you at the⟩

⟨The fates have been playing at cross purposes with me⟩

I was greatly disappointed in not finding you at home yesterday – It was not my intention to intrude again on your hospitality for I had learnt at Ed[in]b[urgh] that you had been almost harassed by visits but I could not bear to leave Scotland without once more seeing you if but for a moment – I had consold myself with the hope of doing so at Jedburgh – but was detaind at Melrose all day for want of a chaise & did not reach Jedburgh until after you had left it. I can only then take farewell of you by letter which I do with a heart full of regard – Whether we shall ever meet again is a [*p. [64]*] matter of great uncertainty but I shall ever recollect the few days I passed with you and your amiable family as among the choicest of my life ⟨Accustomed as you are to the adon⟩ Surrounded as you are by friends among the most eminent & illustrious the good will of an individual like myself cannot be a matter of much importance yet I feel a gratification in expressing it –

⟨I have made one of the⟩

My Scotch excur[sion] ends the most delightful excur[sions] made the weather has b[ee]n delicious – the scenery beyond my expectation. ⟨I go as one[?]⟩ I have met with nothing but great pe[o]p[le] & agreeable incidents and go away with a heart stored with golden reccollections for the rest of my life.

I cannot but express my satisfact[ion] ⟨on finding⟩ on arriving at your house at being accosted by my old friend Hamlet and at hearing that he & his brother ⟨culprit and been⟩ had been reprieved from the galley [–] a pony bought for the purpose of effecting their reformation [–] I should have grieved that any thing should have happened to the animals of yr house[65]

65. The entire passage "<I have . . . house" is a draft of a letter to Walter Scott, expressing Irving's regret at not finding him at Abbotsford to say farewell. The actual letter, dated Hawick, September 23, 1817, is very similar. The last paragraph of the draft is almost illegible, written upside down on the preceding page of the notebook. It reads in the finished letter: "I cannot but express my satisfaction, on calling at your house yesterday, at being welcomed by my old friend Hamlet, and at learning that he and his fellow culprit, Hector, had been reprieved from the 'Tyburn Tree' and a pony brought for their amusement & reformation. I felt so much interested by every moving thing in your establishment that I should have grieved had any of them met with disaster" (*Letters*, I, 507–8). Irving's own account records ". . . that my friend Hamlet, the black greyhound, got into a sad scrape . . . we beheld the sable prince of Denmark standing by the bleeding body of a sheep. The carcass was still warm, the throat bore marks of the fatal grip and Hamlet's muzzle was stained with blood . . . I understood, afterwards, that Scott actually got a pony, and went out now and then coursing with

[*p. [66]*]
Sailed from London Aug[66]

⟨Travellers who sit down to a shabby m⟩
Traveller who after fagging all day long through a drizzling atmosphere & dirty roads, splenetic and jaded – sits down in the evening and writes down in rapturous strains about the beauties of the country &c.

Melancholic temperament subject to fuller excitement &c

[*p. [67]*]
September 21
Left Edinburgh at 2 oclock for Selkirk where we arrived 8 oclock eve[67]

September 22
Walked before breakfast to Philiphaugh. Saw Bowhill seat of Duke of Buccleugh – also Newark Hill Carterhaugh Yarrow[68]

[*p. [68]*]
English country churches –
Gersau[69]
Fair at Melrose
Temple chapel

Daydreams at Sea
Banks of Hudson

Hamlet, who, in consequence, showed no further inclination for mutton" ("Abbotsford," in *The Crayon Miscellany* [*Works*, VIII, 299–300]). The final passage, "old . . . house," is upside down on the bottom of p. 63 and continues on pp. 65 and 64 in that order.

66. Irving sailed for Berwick on August 21, 1817. See "Tour in Scotland 1817," opening entry.

67. Irving gives the date of departure as Sunday, September 22, 1817, in a letter to his brother Peter (*Letters*, I, 506). Actually September 21 fell on Sunday. In "Tour in Scotland 1817," Irving recorded "September 21. Leave Edinburgh in mail for Selkirk." See p. 115.

68. "Sept. 22 . . . Yarrow," in pencil, is upside down.

69. Irving visited the Swiss village of Gersau in 1805 and gave a detailed description of the churchyard in his journal. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 382–83. Irving used this entry in "Rural Funerals," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 210–11).

⟨Old⟩ acquaintance married – been long a bachelor – young girls grown up[70]

[*p. [69]*]

I would read to her from some favourite ⟨author⟩ ↑poet↓. I would fold the book and dwell upon his merits – when I came to some tender passage it seemed to catch my excited feelings I would close the book and launch forth into his praises and when I had wrought myself up into a strain of enthusiasm ⟨I would turn to her I read her pale dark eyes beaming upon me with such a smile⟩ Her fine eyes would ↑kindle &↓ beam upon me ⟨with simple⟩ I would ⟨meet⟩ ↑drink↓ in new inspiration from them ⟨d⟩ until she suddenly seemed to reccollect ⟨them⟩ herself – & throw them down upon the earth with a sweet pensiveness and a full drawn sigh.[71]

Saw Barrow at Murrays Lounging Room. also the author of poetry of the Antijacobin.[72]

[*Irving now turned notebook upside down and made remaining entries from back to front*]

[*p. [88]*]

B Henry Latrobe
Mr Wm Robertson
12 Union Office Court
Fleet St.
London.
1817[73]

70. "Daydreams . . . up" in pencil.

71. Further reminiscences of his courtship of Matilda Hoffman. Legend says that Irving was in the habit of reading aloud to her. The entire passage, "I . . . sigh," is crossed out with wavy lines from top to bottom of page.

72. "Saw . . . Antijacobin," written in pencil, is upside down at bottom of page. Sir John Barrow (1764–1833), secretary of the admiralty, who wrote many articles for Murray's *Quarterly Review*. The author was probably George Canning (1770–1837), the statesman, who anonymously contributed brilliant political satire to the *Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner*. Irving met both on August 16, 1817, at Murray's in Albemarle Street. See McClary, ed., *Irving and the House of Murray*, p. 4. This entry is upside down at bottom of page.

73. Notations on the outside of the back cover of the notebook. "1817" is upside down on the cover. B[enjamin] Henry Latrobe (1764–1820) may be the American architect and engineer, born in England of an American mother. Irving refers in Spain in 1826 to the Scottish historian William Robertson, whose writings about Columbus he was planning to use. See *Washington Irving and the Storrows. Letters from England and the Continent 1821–1828*, ed. S. T. Williams (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. 29.

[*p. [87]*]
T.T Laughen[74]
26 Keppel St Russel Sqr

Mac Gregors Hotel
Lucas[?] St.
Ruby Castle
Lord Buchanan near Melrose
from aldersgate St thro Jewin St. cross Red Cross St. (Church of St Giles Cripplegate St. Miltons tomb) thro Fore St. to Grub St.[74] Nugee[75]

[*p. [86]*]
Regicides[76] [*indistinct sketch*]
Borders of Connecticut old dresses &c. on the Hudson – Dutch village – Esopus[77] – wore old flemish dresses –
Virginia
In ⟨one of the⟩ ↑an↓ old mansion on the banks of the [*blank*] which had ⟨firs⟩ been the residence of one of these old Virginia families that lived in a rude lordly grandeur. found Mss.
Loves of a young Virginian – tomb stones still stand in grounds of the old Hall[78] –

Regicides –
old men – harmless life – saw each other occasionally, community of suffering

[*p. [85]*]
N.Y.
Dutchmen arming agst. the Indians – Alarms – shot heard in the

74. Irving records "Mrs. Laughen" later. See p. 197.

75. These addresses and random jottings are on the inside back cover of the notebook. Similar jottings of Irving's visits to the Grub Street area can be found in an undated manuscript fragment. See "Notes circa 1817," p. 170. "Ruby . . . Melrose" is written in pencil. Upside down and very faint in pencil the name Nugee, Irving's London tailor. See PMI, IV, 177.

76. See n. 17 for Ezra Stiles's volume on the regicides.

77. Esopus was a settlement of the Dutch on the west side of the Hudson, as early as 1658, site of the present town of Kingston. Compare: "After them came the Van Pelts of Groodt Esopus, dexterous horsemen, mounted upon goodly switch-tailed steeds of the Esopus Breed" (Diedrich Knickerbocker's *A History of New York* [*Works*, XI, 392]).

78. Irving traveled in Virginia in 1833 and may have used this notebook for some entries, but it is more likely that such notations as these are personal recollections. Compare "Tour in Scotland 1817," pp. 156–57.

woods – ludicrous panics of the dutchmen – odd equipment & incidents Old Indian chief in the highlands contemplating the Hudson[79]

N Engd.
Expeditions agst. Philip of Pokanoket – odd names of English – mine host of Mounthope – half Indian with picturesque dress –
Speech of chiefs – ⟨Old⟩ wars with Dutchmen – Peter Stuyvesant.
Derrick the Giants atchievements – staff like weavers beam lifts a mast

[*p. [84]*]
The Lazy luxury of a summer day in the country – to lie in a bed of red clover with a book & look down on the Hudson. Sloops with sails flapping agst. the mast[80]

[*p. [83]*]
he did na like to make a powther or had a gay bit mind to have been in all his bones.

Mary of Guise – head on the carved work of Stirling Castle – Wife to Jas V[81]
Mrs Laughen

[*p. [82]*]
Mrs Harling
Tallow chandler[?]
Mr Kash
Hairdresser[82]

Craig cross
Skelfhallpen

Hairabes[?] at Ceaslich
Peel or Tower of Goldeland

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79. Irving was preoccupied with the traditions and the history of the Hudson area that he utilized in writing *The Sketch Book*.

80. Half of page torn away.

81. Irving reached Stirling Castle, which he sketched in his notebook, on the evening of September 8, 1817. See "Tour in Scotland 1817," pp. 139–42.

82. "Mr. M'Kash, an Irish hair-dresser, whose shop stands on the site of the old Boar's Head," is found in "The Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 176).

Borthwicks roaring strand

———————

↑monthills↓ Mound of Druids

———————

Hazeldean Tower

———————

Minto Crags – Barnhill

———————

Arth

———————

Carter ⟨Horn⟩ Jedds

———————

Penchryst pen – Harwick[83]
Priesthaughswin

[*p. [81] blank*]

[*p. [80]*]

[*one line badly rubbed*] Good men ⟨whose virtues survey fine and illustrious ones in their virtues whether⟩ ↑treading↓ in the eyes nor in whom virtue continues always the same in public or private. Like the stars of heaven which however clouds may hide them from the eyes of men continue to shine on in uninterrupted brightness

[*p. [79]*]

Hayes Speech on the Usury Bill –
Tazewells speech on the Banking Question –
Ditto on the constitution of the State[84] –

———————

View of London from Hampstead morning 6 oclock ⟨Covered with⟩ East end envelloped in smoke. St. Pauls dome & body of church seen thro it. St Pauls surrounded by neighbouring spires – West end not so smoky. Westminster Abbey seen with tolerable distinctness Brisk west wind rolls off the smoke – ⟨Gleams⟩ Broad Gleam of sunshine coursing over the plain [–] reflection at sight of London [–] vast mass of human

83. The entries "Craig . . . [*unrecovered*]" are mostly place names, many of them almost illegible.

84. Littleton W. Tazewell (1774–1860), lawyer and statesman, became U.S. senator and governor of Virginia. The reference to banking questions is not clear. Tazewell, in an eloquent speech on January 8, 1834, denounced the removal of deposits from the Bank of the United States, ordered by President Jackson. As Irving sometimes made entries in notebooks begun much earlier, these comments may be of much later date.

[*p. [78]*]
care & misery collected here. The aggregate care & trouble of the world &c – How many sleepless heads & ⟨weary eyes⟩ aching hearts[85]

[*p. [77] blank*]

[*p. [76]*]
Frenchmans reflections
Engld relapsing into Barter

Book societies the consequence of poverty –

Frenchman mistakes Port wine for Medoc – wry faces – When told it is from Portugal – so that accounts for it[86]

Let me not indulge in this mawkish feeling and sentiment – engendered by literature – which has produced a morbid sensibility ⟨& hightend all the contagion⟩ and sustaind all the melancholy tendencies &c

[*p. [75]*]
Hudson. Kleyne Kill – Gardeniers Derick the Giant –

[*blank*] M the learned – has the advantage of being able to utter his dull things in 3 difft Languages

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⟨Kentucky⟩
⟨Ken⟩ Richds ⟨father⟩ – returng from Kentucky – belt under short coat – pistols – and a large couteau with buck handle[87]

Buildwas Abbey.
in Colebrook dale[88]

85. Irving repeatedly describes the sight of the city from Highgate or Hampstead Heath. See "The Poor-Devil Author" and "Buckthorne, or the Young Man of Great Expectations," in *Tales of a Traveller* (*Works*, XXI, 172, 230).

86. Compare Irving's account of the Englishman's complaint about French wines in the sketch "The Englishman at Paris," in *Wolfert's Roost* (*Works*, XXVII, 235–36).

87. Compare this entry with lengthier notations about the South and West, written probably much later. See "Tour in Scotland 1817," pp. 118, n. 93, 154–56, n. 213, 159.

88. Upside down at bottom of page. The ruins of the Cistercian abbey, founded in 1135, in the village of Bildwas in central Shropshire, about forty miles from Worcester. Irving may have visited the ruins as he was in Worcester, August 1, 1815.

[*p. [74]*]

Dreams of imagination like gleams of april sunshine lighting up the landscape all into life & beauty and passing away in a moment[89]

Killing the Doe on Black River[90]

Group met in the woods, half indian – Deserter from Canada &c[91]

[*p. [73]*]

now & then a fit of devouring melancholy that eats into my very soul[92]

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a melancholy that corrodes the spirits & seems to rust all the springs of mental energy –

Character gradually impaired by melancholy — Yet carries something mellow & touching in its decay – like some old time worn tower – ⟨tempered by mouldering⟩ which has lost its strength by the secret [?sweet?] dilapidation of time & the rude beatings of the tempest yet acquires tints and mellowness from its very mouldring[93] –

[*p. [72]*]

here lieth the body of Robert Preston Tavern late Drawer at the Boars Head Tavern in Great East Cheap who departed this life March the 16th anno Dom. 1730 aged 27 Years

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Bacchus to give the toping world surprise
Produced one Sober Son & here he lies
Tho' reserved among full Hogsheads he defy'd
The charms of wine & every vine beside
& Reader if to Justice thourt inclined
Keep honest preston daily in thy mind

89. Compare the description of April weather in the opening paragraph of "May-day Customs," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 314).

90. A reference to a personal experience recorded on August 11, 1803, in *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 15–16.

91. Compare "Extracts from Travels 1817," pp. 214–18.

92. Compare "the silent and devouring melancholy that had entered into her very soul" at the end of "The Broken Heart," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 108), and "A devouring melancholy preyed upon his heart . . ." ("The Adventure of the Mysterious Stranger," in *Tales of a Traveller* [*Works*, XXI, 93]).

93. Compare ". . . every thing bears marks of the gradual dilapidations of time, which yet has something touching and pleasing in its very decay" ("Westminster Abbey," in *The Sketch Book* [*Works*, XIX, 239]).

He drew good wine took care to fill his pots
Had sundry virtues that outweighed his faults
You that on Bacchus have the like dependence
Pray copy Bob in measure & attendanee[94]

[*p. [71]*]
Wedn ⟨fri⟩ befriended at Rome by an Englishman of the name of Robinson –

Dined at Murrays on Saturday Aug 16th at table Mrs Murray, Mr Walter Hamilton Mr D'Israeli & Mr [*blank*] an artist just returned from Italy with a eolleetion of fine drawings.[95]

D'Israeli a goodhumourd soeiable old gentleman ⟨f⟩ – made many enquiries about Ameriea – pleased with the eireumstanee of his works being republished there

Is a great admirer of old fashioned gardening – thinks it gives a greater idea of opulenee—& grandeur

[*p. [70]*]
Murray shewed me a letter from Ld Byron written in a rambling flippant egotistical style – promises – the 4th canto of Child Harold[96]

Think it less metaphysieal than the other eantos but at least equal to them –

Ridicules Sotheby[97] – threatens to raise a Samuel for his Saul – To stiek a pin thro' this big blue bottle &e

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94. Irving gives a detailed account of Robert Preston and prints the epitaph (with some variations) in "The Boar's Head Tavern," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 170–72).

95. An account of this dinner is found in Irving's letter to his brother Peter, dated August 19, 1817 (*Letters*, I, 488–89), and in another to Henry Brevoort, dated August 28, 1817 (*Letters*, I, 494–96). See also "Notes while preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817," p. 173, n. 4. The artist William Brockedon (1787–1854), painter, author, and inventor, was identified by Samuel Smiles in *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray, . . . 1778–1843* (London, 1891), II, 127; Walter Hamilton is identified in n. 4. Isaac D'Israeli (1766–1848), the author of *Curiosities of Literature* (1791), became a good friend whom Irving saw repeatedly. For Irving's relations with John Murray, see McClary, ed., *Washington Irving and the House of Murray*.

96. The fourth canto of Byron's *Childe Harold* was published in 1818. Irving's eagerness to hear news and gossip about Lord Byron is reflected in many letters and journal entries.

97. William Sotheby (1757–1833), the poet and translator.

Ld Byron told Murray that he was much happier after breaking with Lady Byron – he hated this still quiet life.

Murray gave 1600 £ for the 4th Canto

Mrs & Miss D'Israeli passed the evening at Murrays –

EXTRACTS FROM TRAVELS 1817

This manuscript notebook in brown leather, 7 × 4½ inches, with flexible covers, consists of 89 pages written in ink. It is part of the Collection of American Literature in the Beinecke Library of Yale University. The pasted label on the front cover has the inscription "Notes concerning the United States 1818," written in ink in a strange hand.

Extracts from different books of Travel in the U States –
Decr. 1817.[1]

Memorandum Book containing extracts in the
handwriting of Washington Irving
Sunnyside[2]

[*p. [1]*]

Extracts from Travels of an Officer in U.S.[3]

Hummingbird –

⟨Firebird, or orchard Oriole – its pendant nest on the long drooping twigs of the Willow –⟩ – Bluebird. of a Mazarine blue

Firebird. ↑(orchard oriole)↓ glancing like a flame thro the groves.

1. These lengthy extracts from travel literature about America, first published toward the end of the eighteenth century and reprinted because of their great interest, were copied in ink during Irving's first years in England from books available to him, probably in the British Museum. Passages will be identified individually, but no word for word comparisons will be made. Irving sometimes copied meticulously, at other times he selected significant factual passages and skipped obvious details. Often he condensed or paraphrased in order to save time and space. Though the accounts of Thomas Anburey, Peter Kalm, Isaac Weld, and J. Carver often contain similar passages and almost identical phrases of descriptive details and reports of the areas discussed, the precise text can be identified because of Irving's careful copying. In many cases Irving's spelling and punctuation vary from the original, but what sometimes looks like a misspelling is actually an archaic or variant spelling common in the eighteenth century. Significant omission of words or letters by Irving are inserted in brackets. The heading of this notebook is in Irving's hand on the inside front cover.

2. The description "Memorandum . . . Sunnyside" is not in Irving's handwriting on the inside front cover. The flyleaf is blank on both sides.

3. These extracts are from Thomas Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America. In a Series of Letters By an Officer*, 2 vols. (London, 1789). Anburey was an officer of Burgoyne's army, who served with his commander in the actions which terminated with Saratoga.

Builds its nest on the end of long pendant willow twigs, where it swings with the breeze: but are never blown down. Young are very tractable, & might be taught tricks – fed with flies.

Humming bird subsists on the juice of flowers which it sucks through its long bill – flutter like bees, making a humming noise with the quick motion of their wings

(reccollect the one I found chilled with the cold at New Rochelle). They fight for the dominion of a flower – very wrathful If they find a flower witherd or juiceless they pluck it off & throw it to the ground[4] –

[*p. 2*]

⟨A⟩ new England horses – & Riders –

They of all the various breeds of that noble animal certainly are the most peculiar & diabolical to ride; the horses in general have a pretty good head & neck & from that the their rump they fall off surprisingly. They are all without exception what is termd amongst Jockeys Goose rumpd & cat hamd. In a natural pace they will shuffle on for 8 or 9 miles an hour; it is not that easy kind of pacing that is taught ladies horses but an unaccountable wriggling gait that till you are accustomed to it you are more fatigued in riding two miles than a whole days fox-chace. In short you cannot possibly form a just idea of it unless you were mounted on a N England Rosinante which title they justly merit for I assure you they are very much a la Quixote and to meet a New Englander riding in the [*p. 3*] woods with his blazing iron (a term they give to a musket or gun) you might mistake him for the Knight of the Woeful Countenance[.] Their horses are of a very Slender make & not over fat with a long switch tail & mane down to the horses knees for I should observe to you they never cut either. Then the master with his long leg bestrides it which are in Stirrups that the toe can but just reach[.] then his upright position with his long lank visage and on his head an old grzley caxon[5] & a large flapped hat with his saddle bags behind & provision bags before & his blazing iron on his Shoulder – picture to yourself ⟨such⟩ a man thus mounted, of such *outre* appearance & forbear to laugh if you can.[6]

[*p. 4*]

⟨N England⟩

Mockingbird – Its plumage is simple & not shewy – it is a summer bird very difficult to bring up – The inhabitants say this bird is so very shy

4. Condensed and paraphrased passages from Anburey, II, 198–203.
5. An obsolete term for a wig, especially a worn one.
6. *Ibid.*, II, 217–19.

that if any person diseovers its nest, whieh is mostly built in bushes, & looks at its eggs[,] it will never return to the nest. When a nest of young ones are taken & put into a cage they take great eare to hang it where the mother eannot get at it[,] for if she ean[,] she will feed them three or four days & finding she cannot release them[,] flies away after whieh the young ones shortly die for want of proper food – But the inhabitants attribute their death to the mother who they say the last [time] she feeds them contrives to give them poison, in order to release them from captivity[7] –

[*p. 5*]

Geese yoked — to prevent their creeping through enelosures. their ridieulous awkwardness with this Necklaee.

Hobbled horses limping along the road –

Bees, the preeursors of cultivation & their appearanee in the woods the sign that white men are not far distant –
Buffalos – the signs of ⟨wil⟩ perfeetly wild eountry –

Cider making[8] –

[*p. 6*]

Col. Bland who commands the Ameriean troops was formerly a physician at Petersburgh on James River, but on the commencement of the war as being some way related to Bland who wrote a military treatise he felt a martial spirit arise in him, therefore quitted the Esculapian art & at his own expenee raised a regiment of light horse. As to those troops of his regiment with Washingtons Army I eannot say anything, but the two that the Colonel has with him here for the purposes of expresses and attendanee are the most eurious figures you ever saw. Some like Prinee Prettyman with one boot, others less fortunate, without any; some horseless with their feet peeping out of their shoes; others with breeches that put deeeney to the blush; some in ↑short↓ jackets, some in long eoats, but all have fine dragoon eaps & long swords slung round them, some with holsters, but gadamerey pistols, for they have not a braee and half among them, but they are tolerably well mounted and that is the only thing you ean advance in their favour. The Colonel is so fond of his Dragoons that he reviews & manouvres them every morning, &

7. *Ibid.*, II, 276–77.

8. *Ibid.*, II, 281–83; cf. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (London, 1771), I, 233–34, 217, 288–89.

whenever he rides out has two with drawn swords before & two behind; it is really laughable to see him thus attended with his ragged regiment, which looks, to borrow Shakespeares idea, as if the Gibbets had been robbed to make [*p.* 7] it up. Then the Colonel himself, notwithstanding his martial spirit, has all the grave deportment as if he was going to a consultation[9]

A Virginia Mansion[10] –

The house that we reside in is situated upon an eminence commanding a prospect of near thirty miles around it, and the face of the country appears an immense forest, interspersed with various plantations four or five miles distant from each other. On these there is a dwelling house in the center, with kitchens smoke house and outhouses detached, and from the various buildings each plantation has the appearance of a small village. At some little distance from the houses are peach and apple orchards &c and scattered over the plantations are the Negroes huts & tobacco houses, which are large, built of wood for the cure of that article

The houses are most of them built of wood[,] the roof being covered with shingles and not always lathed & plastered within – only those of the better sort are finished in that manner and painted on the outside. The chimneys are often of brick, but the generality of them are wood, coated on the inside with clay, the windows of the better sort are glazed[,] the rest have only wooden shutters.

[*p.* 8]

Field of girdled trees – singular, & d[r]eadful appearance. ↑Seems↓ dangerous to walk in them. Trees of prodigious size from which vast limbs are impending in awful ruins – Branches of an enormous size continually breaking off & frequently whole trees falling to the ground with a tremendous crash – increased and protacted by surrounding echoes –

Cattle lured by salt – great numbers of cattle seen at large entirely wild

Most persons who are in possession of any considerable plantation have what is called a right in the woods, by which they are entitld to a certain portion of[11] the Ewe cattle that run wild which they can dispose of &c – there is no other way of ascertaining them but by branding or putting some mark upon them – which marks are recorded in

9. Anburey, II, 320–21.

10. Irving supplied this and other headings for various passages copied from the travel accounts.

11. Irving wrote "portion" instead of Anburey's "proportion."

the county courts[12] & by an act of the assembly it is made felony for other persons to alter or deface such marks –

Plantations, ⟨th⟩ even when small, are consigned to the care of overseers. The planter particularly if he has a few negroes, thinks it beneath his dignity.

[*p. 9*]

Planters mode of living –

Rises about 8 oclock – Drinks Julep – walks or rides round his plantation – views his stock – crops &c. returns about ten to breakfast on cold meat, ham, fried hommony, toast & cider [–] tea & coffee seldom tasted except by women. Then saunters about the house sometimes amusing himself with the little negroes who are playing around the door, or else scraping on the fiddle. about 12 or 1. Toddy to create appetite for dinner – Dine at 2. after dinner lays on bed till 5. then perhaps sips tea with his wife, but commonly drinks toddy until bedtime. Keeps in a state neither drunk nor sober, but stupified – seldom varies this routine except to attend court house on court days or to some horse race or cockfight at which time he gets so egregiously drunk that his wife sends ⟨two⟩ couple of negroes to conduct him safe home.[13]

Field negroes dress

Shirt & trousers of coarse, thin, hard hempen Stuff in the summer, with the addition of a very coarse woollen Jacket breeches & shoes in Winter.

They always carry out a piece of fire & kindle one near their work, let the weather be ever so hot & sultry.[14]

[*p. 10*]

Perplexing roads through the woods where the country is wild –

(In the Middle States, the roads are ⟨designed⟩ designated by notches in the trees)

Virginia Inns called ordinaries – out of the principal towns all taverns & public houses in Virginia are called ordinaries. They consist of a little house placed in a solitary situation in the middle of the woods – where you can seldom procure other fare than Eggs & bacon with Indian hoe cake – liquors are peach brandy & whiskey

The hospitality of the planters prevents the taverns from thriving

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12. Anburey has the singular "county court."

13. The entire section of *A Virginia Mansion* is in Anburey, II, 320–30.

14. Anburey, II, 333–34. Irving copied short passages and ignored detailed descriptions of conditions of slavery.

Traps to catch Wild Turkeys

Falls of James River

Commence near Westham & continue to ½ mile below Richmond

Tobacco is carried down the river to Westham on canoes lashed together[15] –

Country Stores where all kinds of merchandze is sold

[*p. 11*]

Col Randolphs House at Tuckahoe

Built on a rising ground commanding a beautiful view of James river. House built in form of an H & has the appearance of two houses joined by a large Saloon. each wing has two stories & four large rooms on a floor. in one the family reside and the other is reserved solely for visitors. The Saloon that unites them is of a considerable magnitude & on each side are doors. The ceiling is lofty, and to these they principally retire in summer being but little incommoded by the sun, & by the doors of each of the house[s] & those of the saloon being open ⟨they⟩ there is a constant circulation of air. They are furnished with 4 Sophas & in the centre is generally a chandalier. These saloons are a cool retreat in summer & are used occasionally as ball rooms – The outhouses are detached at some distance that this house may be open to the air on all sides.

Col Randolph was extremely fond of horses as all Virginians of all stations are. He spared no trouble or expence in importing the best stock – His finest – a handsome dappled grey was called Shakespeare – had a stable built purposely for him with a recess for the bed of a negro who looked after him – that he might be by him at night.[16]

[*p. 12*]

Virginia Classes.

The first consists of Gentlemen of the best families & fortunes which are more numerous & respectable here than in any other province. For the most part they have had liberal educations, possess a thorough knowledge of the world with great ease & freedom in their manners & conversation. Many of them keep their carriages & have handsome services of plate & without exception keep their studs as well as sets of handsome carriage horses.

15. *Ibid.*, II, 338–43. Details in parentheses are Irving's comments.
16. *Ibid.*, II, 357–60.

The Second class consists of such a strange mixture of characters & of such various descriptions of occupations being nearly half the inhabitants, that it is difficult to ascertain their exact criterion & leading feature. They are however hospitable, generous & friendly, but for want of a proper knowledge of the world and a good education as well as from their continual intercourse with their slaves over whom they are accustomed to tyrranize, with all their good qualities they are rude, ferocious & haughty much attached to gaming & dissipation particularly horse racing & cockfighting In short they form a most unaccountable combination of qualities & principles directly opposite & contradictory, many of them having them strangely blended with the best and worst of principles, the most valuable & most worthless. Many possessing elegant accomplishments and savage brutality and notwithstanding all this inconsistency of character numbers are valuable members of the community and [*p. 13*] very few deficient in intellectual faculties –

The third class, which, in general composes the greatest part of mankind, are fewer in Virginia in proportion to the inhabitants than perhaps in any other country in the World. Yet even those who are rude illiberal & noisy, with a turbulent disposition, are generous, Kind & hospitable. We are induced to imagine there is something peculiar in the climate of Virginia that should render all classes of so hospitable a disposition.

Lower classes impertinently curious – averse to labour, much addicted to liquor & when intoxicated savage & revengeful.[17]

Tobacco plant

At its proper height nearly as tall as a middle sized man – stalk straight, hairy & exceeding clammy – leaves alternate – of a faded yellowish green.[18]

Travelling dangerous in windy weather from the number of rotten pines continually blowing down. Have frequently to turn out of the road to get round a tree that has fallen – Old rotten pines ⟨often fa⟩ divested of their branches often fall with the least breeze.

[*p. 14*]

Rabbits – take refuge in hollow trees – hauled from thence by cleft sticks, twisted into their skins. Dogs keep up a barking at a tree – at length we espy an opposum suspended at the extremity of a branch by its tail – rolls itself into a ball – and affects death –

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17. *Ibid.*, II, 371–74.
18. *Ibid.*, II, 387.

Quarter racing – match between horses to run ¼ of a mile, a favourite diversion of the lower classes – requires particular training as the horses must start at full speed – day generally concludes with boxing matches.

This racing is only prevalent in the interior –

Buckskins – a name given to Virginians by the Yankees from their ancestors being hunters[19] –

Col Blands pomposity in presence of the British officers – ⟨calls to⟩ On mounting his horse calls to a ⟨west in⟩ french west indian Negro who had brought his sword without the scabbard *Donney moi – donney moi –* & after great hesitation – *Donney moi – mon scabbard*[20] –

[*p. 15*]
⟨Col Mead⟩

A negro servant of Col Meads being mounted on a remarkably high spirited horse much pr[i]zed by his master was looking after some forage when he was surprized pursued & nearly surrounded by a party of English Light dragoons in a field enclosed with a prodigious fence near 9 feet high. The poor negro fearful of himself & dreading his masters displeasure in case he lost the horse ran him at the fence which he leaped over & rode off into the woods to the astonishment of the dragoons – the horse was black. It saved Col Mead at the battle of Monmouth when fired upon by British officers as he was reccon-noitring – ⟨Detained at ↑⟨at what is called the⟩↓ the Point of the forks⟩ Detained at what is called the *Point of the forks* where james river divides by the overflowing of the river occasioned by ⟨apparent fall of⟩ ↑heavy↓ rains which had swelled the mountain torrents & so encreased the waters that they overflow the banks of the river for many miles.

As the floods come down from the mountains with great impetu-osity it washes away the earth which being red gives it the colour of blood. Since the waters have abated great quantities of sturgeon & rockfish caught at the falls.[21]

[*p. 16*]

Summer travelling

Can only travel in the morning or evening. The Inhabitants jog on in a Vehicle called a sulky – a kind of one horse chaise just large enough to contain one person. They say these are not so fatiguing to a horse

19. *Ibid.*, II, 389–94.
20. *Ibid.*, II, 397–98.
21. *Ibid.*, II, 402–406.

as a persons riding on horse back. In travelling on horse back you must either walk or gallop your horse as the motion of trotting is too fatiguing for yourself & the beast –

Hogs running wild in the woods –

⟨Richmond⟩ *Fire in the woods* – extinguishd by heavy rain, but occasionally breaking out in different places –

During the summer months these fires are very frequent and at Charlottesville I have seen the mountains on a blaze for 3 or 4 miles in length. They are occasioned by the carelessness of waggoners who when night approaches after they have unharnessed the horses, fed them, panneled them & tying a bell round their necks turned them loose in the woods to graze, make a large fire to warm them when they sleep, which on pursuing their journey the next morning they neglect to extinguish, this communicating to the dry leaves which lay on the ground spreads rapidly & causes these conflagrations.[22]

[*p. 17*]
Persimmon – not eatable until meliorated by sharp frosts – Animals resorting to the Woods are extremely fond of its flavor, particularly bears who come from a great distance in quest of it, especially on the approach of winter at which time the inhabitants chase & mostly kill them, as they are unable to regain the mountains before the dogs overtake them – If they reach the mountains the pursuit after them is attended with danger on account of the vast number of carniverous animals resorting there –

⟨Mountain cat –⟩
Turkey Buzzard – feeds on carrion – nearly as big as an Eagle, has red gills like a turkey [–] Seems to be a species of the Kite hovering on the wing like that bird & being carniverous.[23]

Tulip tree – bears its large flowers in the spring[24]

Hornets nests on trees – Wasps nests[25] –

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22. *Ibid.*, II, 409–13.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 432–34.
24. *Ibid.*, II, 451.
25. Not located.

[*p. 18*]

Blue Mountains: or the Pignet Ridge

Crossed at Woods gap – road winds easily up it. After travelling near a mile through a thick wood before you gain the summit of these mountains when you reach the top you are suddenly surprized with an unbounded prospect that strikes you with awe & amazement. At the foot of the mountain[s] runs a beautiful river – beyond it an extensive plain, interspersed with a variety of objects & about 50 miles distant are the lofty Allegany Mountains whose tops are buried in the clouds.[26]

About 30 miles from Augusta Court house there is a rock which the inhabitants say was that which Moses struck with his rod, for out of the side of it bursts a torrent of water, and what adds to its beauty the water after running some distance through a meadow rushes down a precipice near two hundred feet deep.

Lost river

About 20 miles hence is a river which sinks under a mountain & never more rises & therefore is called *Lost River*
Near this is a cave running near a mile under a rock with two springs, one hot & the other cold rising within a foot of each other out of ye rock.[27]
⟨river⟩

[*p. 19*]

Shenandoah River

Exceedingly romantic & beautiful with a variety of falls, & the water so transparent that the pebbles may be seen at the depth of 7 or 8 feet – There are plenty of trout & other fish, but it is so full of sunken rocks as not to be navigable even for canoes – goods are transported down the river on rafts[28] –

Pumpkinheads –

New Haven is remarkable for having given the epithet of pumpkinheads to the New Englanders which arose from one of the severe laws of Connecticut ⟨est⟩ enjoining every male to have his hair cut round by a cap and when caps were not readily at hand they substituted the hard shell of a pumpkin which being put on their head every Saturday the hair was cut by it all round the head. What religious virtue may be derived from the custom it is difficult to find out. certainly there is

26. Anburey, II, 468–69.
27. *Ibid.*, II, 472–73.
28. *Ibid.*, II, 486.

much prudence in it for it prevents the hair from entangling, saves the use of bags & ribbons & prevents its incommoding the sight by falling over the eyes. I am induced to think the custom arose from this cause that as they were such enthusiasts in religion and at the same time a profligate & lawless people those who had lost their ears for heresy should not conceal their misfortune & disgrace—

[*p. 20*]
Alarm of a congregation ↑on Long Island↓ surrounded by the British –

Upon the alarm the confusion was great – the congregation getting out as fast as they could, each man taking the first horse he met with rode away full ⟨speed⟩ gallop. Some of ⟨in party⟩ ↑of the British↓ having mounted other horses riding after them. Some galloping off with their neighbors horses, the owner running after to stop him – others seeking refuge in an adjoining wood. Women screaming shrieking & fainting[29] –

[*p. 21*]

Pennsylvania –

After you get over the Delaware (from the Jerseys) a new country presents itself, extremely well cultivated & inhabited. The roads are lined with farm houses some of which are near the road & some at a little distance, and the space between the road & houses is taken up with fields & meadows. Some of them are built of stone two stories high & covered with cedar shingles – but most are wooden with the crevices stopped with clay; the ovens are commonly built a little distance from the house & under a roof –

The farmers of Pennsylvania pay more attention to their barns than their dwelling houses. This building is as large as a common country church & covred with shingles declining each side but not very steep. The walls are about 30 feet. In the middle is the threshing floor & above it a loft for the corn unthreshed – on one side is a stable & on the other a cow house & the small cattle have their particular stables & styes. & at the gable end there are great gates so that a horse & cart can go straight through – there is the threshing floor, stable hayloft, cow house, coach house &c all under one roof.

Pennsylvanians industrious & hardy – well lodged, well fed & clad – have few blacks[30] –

29. *Ibid.*, II, 526–28.
30. *Ibid.*, II, 279–81.

[*p.* 22]
Green candles made from the berry of the tallow shrub. The berries are gathered late in the autumn & boiled – the fat exhudes & floats & is skimmed off – it has a green dirty look but being refined becomes transparent. They do not bend & melt in summer – burn better & slower than common candles & when extinguished do not smoke but rather evaporate with an agreeable ⟨odor⟩ odour. The time for gathering & preparing the berries scarcely repays the trouble.[31]

Susquehannah large, broad & beautiful but dangerous from its rapidity & the innumerable quantity of small rocks that just make their appearance above the surface.[32]

[*p.* 23]

Indians in Canada

These Indians have a great number of dogs with them which seems to be the only domestic animal they breed. They are trained up for hunting & are equal to any hounds; appearing to be all of one species, having upright ears of dark brindled colour with a long snout like that of a wolf. Remarkably faithful to their masters, notwithstanding that they are ill fed & never carressed[33]

Canadians

In general a swarthy people, low in stature their dress consists of a kind of Jacket & when the weather is cold a blanket coat which they fasten round them with a worsted sash. They mostly wear a woollen cap but in the winter a fur one & have amazing long queues of which they are exceedingly proud – They are seldom without a pipe in their mouths which habit they acquire in their very infancy – Live chiefly on milk & vegetables & having frequent fast days [–] are a slender meagre people
The Women extremely lively, good natured & obliging [–] neat in their persons but have not the least pretensions to beauty
Segnieurs, or Lords of the Village, descendants of the officers & gentlemen who first settled. Poor, but haughty & looked up to by the peasantry ↑even when richer than themselves↓ on account of their high descent –
Canadian farm houses ⟨with⟩ generally whitened outside – neat & picturesque They [*p.* 24] are neat in their houses attentive to their cattle & careful of the stock on their farms.

31. *Ibid.*, II, 300–301. Kalm (I, 192–93) has much the same phraseology.
32. Anburey, II, 306.
33. *Ibid.*, I, 75.

Seigneurs treat others with great hauteur[34] – Two sorts of cedars: white & red – the former grows thickest & the odour is in the leaves – in the latter in the wood[35]

Farm houses

Most of the Farm houses are built of stone consisting of 3 or 4 rooms heated by a Stove [–] some have orchards – all have good kitchen gardens. Every 3 Leagues there is a church with a kind of little village consisting of the parsonage[,] the auberge, the school for boys & girls & a few houses belonging to tradesmen. Trade is considered by any descendant of the noblesse a disgrace, yet there are few inhabitants but what claim affinity to one Seigneur or another who tho they think agricultural pursuits no degradation yet have a horror of trade or mechanical employment.

Yet I found the principal inhabitant in each village who generally belongs to some noblesse was the post master & kept the only *auberge* in the place, which is likewise the case in many parts of Italy.

Crosses put up along the road with ⟨hammer⟩ crown of thorns – hammer tongs, flask of vingar &c and a gallant cock on top of all.[36]

[*p.* 25]

Breaking up of a river in the Spring – tremendous noise & uproar[37] –

Catfish – Masquenongez[38]

Foppery of the young Indians in painting themselves hideously with virmilion, black, blue & green paints & larding themselves with bears grease.

⟨They are⟩ Indians good auxiliaries to harrass an enemy & watch his movements – On secret expeditions they light no fire to warm themselves nor prepare their victuals but subsist on meal & water [–] lie close to the ground all day & only march in the night, when they rest or refresh themselves [–] send out scouts.

Discover the enemy by the smoke of their fires which they smell at a vast distance and by their tracks

Observe the trees especially the tall pines which are for the most part void of foliage. On the branches exposed to the wind. The bark

34. *Ibid.*, I, 69–73. Weld and Kalm have similar descriptions of Canadians.
35. *Ibid.*, I, 87.
36. *Ibid.*, I, 100–102.
37. *Ibid.*, I, 194. Irving's paraphrase does not use the word "thunder" of the text.
38. Names of fish; *ibid.*, I, 274.

⟨is rugged⟩ of the trunk rugged on that side – Mark the trees with their *tomahawks*[39]

Expedition against Crown Point.
June, 1777.

I cannot forbear picturing to your imagination one of the most pleasing spectacles I ever beheld when we were in the widest part of the lake whose beauty & extent I have already described. it was remarkably fine & clear – not a breeze stirring when the whole army appeared at onc view in such perfect regularity as to form the most complete & splendid regatta you can possible conceive

In the front the Indians went with their [*p. 26*] Birch canoes containing 20 or 30 each – Then the advanced corps in a regular line with the gun-boats [–] then followed the Royal George & Inflexible towing large Booms which are to be thrown across two points of land, with thc other brigs & sloops following. After them the first Brigade in a regular line [–] then the Genls Burgoyne[,] Philips & Reidesel in their pinnaces [–] next to them the 2d. Brigade ⟨and⟩ followed by the German Brigades & the rear was brought up with the suttlers & followers of the army At the appearance of so formidable a fleet you may imagine they were not a little dismayed at Ticonderoga[40] –

Before Ticonderoga.

⟨There Indians wound⟩

There has been a skirmish with the indians and a small party of the enemy who were recconnoitring in which they were driven back to their lines. ⟨Indi⟩ The indians were so rash as to pursue them within reach of their cannon when several were killed & wounded. Upon the firing of their artillery the brigade were orderd under arms & shortly after the Indians brought the killed & wounded upon litters covered with leaves.[41]

⟨Peasant.⟩

Aftcr coming up with the American army which had retreated from Ticonderoga –

Major Grant of 24 regt. who had thc advanced guard attacked their picquets which were soon driven in to the main body. Upon his coming up with the main body he got upon the stump of a tree to recconnoitrc

39. *Ibid.*, I, 292–96.
40. *Ibid.*, I, 304–306. Anburey misspelled Riedesel's name.
41. *Ibid.*, I, 314–15.

& had hardly given the men orders to fire when he was struck by a rifle ball – fell off the tree & never uttered another syllable.[42]

[*p. 27*]

The confusion of mens minds during action – several of the men after action had 5 or 6 cartridges in their ⟨guns⟩ muskets[43] –

During the action every apprehension and idea of danger forsakes the mind which becomes more animated & determined the nearer the time of attack approaches – but the contest[44] once over the mind returns to its proper sense of feeling & deep must its sensibility be wounded when glancing over the field of slaughter when so many brave fellows – who a few hours before were in high spirits & full of the vigour of life are laid low in the dust & the ear continually pierced with the deep sighs & groans of the wounded & dying.

Detachment sent to shoot bullocks that were running in the woods which were eaten dressed on wood ashes without either bread or salt[45]

The German troops

Their Grenadiers have in addition to the usual encumbrances of a soldier a cap with a very heavy brass front, a sword of an enormous size – a canteen that cannot hold less than a gallon & their coats are very long skirted

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Improvidence of Soldiers

It is with great difficulty you can prevail on a common soldier to husband his provisions in any exigency whatever. Even in a settled camp a young soldier has very short fare on the 4 day after he receives his provisions and on a march in bad weather & bad roads when the weary foot slips back at every step & a curse is provoked by the heavy load that retards him it must be a very patient veteran who has experienced much scarcity & hunger that is not tempted to throw the whole contents of his haversack into the mire. When they think they can [*p. 28*] ⟨get provisions at the next encampment–⟩they will ⟨exclaim⟩ Damn the provisions – we shall get more at the next encampt. – the Genl. wont let his soldiers starve –

For one hour a General (in such a situation) can devote to consider

42. *Ibid.*, I, 327.
43. *Ibid.*, I, 333.
44. Instead of "contest," Anburey has "conflict."
45. Anburey, I, 337–40.

how to fight his army he must devote 20 to consider how he shall feed it[46] –

Voluntary Death by opium –

In the course of the last action (at Saratoga) Lieut Hervey – of the 62 a youth of 16 and nephew to the adjutant Genl of the same name recd. several wounds, & was repeatedly ordered off the field by Col Anstruther, but ⟨refused to go⟩ his ardor would not let him go. A ball striking one of his legs his removal became absolutely necessary & while they were conveying him away another wounded him mortally

In this situation the Surgeon recommended him to take a powerful dose of opium to avoid a 7 or 8 hours life of most exquisite torture – This he immediately consented to & when the Col. entered the tent with Major Harnage who were both wounded they asked whether he had any affairs they could settle for him. His reply was that being a minor every thing was already adjusted but he had one request which he had just life enough to utter – "Tell my uncle I died like a soldier!–["][47]

Noise at night like the howling of dogs – proves to be from the wolves which came after the dead bodies – hideous howlings while they scratched up the ⟨corps⟩ dead bodies.[48]

[*p.* 29]

Lady Harriet Ackland the Baroness Reidesel & the wives of Major Harnage & Leut Reynell when the action began enterd a small uninhabited hut. When action became general & bloody the Surgeon[s] took possession of it to dress the wounded. In this situation they were for 4 hours when Major Harnage was brought in deeply wounded – The next intelligence was the death of Lieut. Reynell. The fears of Lady Ackland were doubly increased – both her husband & brother were in the action.[49]

Col Ackland was wounded & taken prisoner[50]

Indians, disappointed in their hopes of plunder – became troublesome – will not come within rifle shot – & often at the first discharge run to the woods. Canadians dampened by the loss of their best officers became useless.[51]

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46. *Ibid.*, I, 379–84.
47. *Ibid.*, I, 423–24.
48. *Ibid.*, I, 432–33.
49. *Ibid.*, I, 427–28.
50. *Ibid.*, I, 443.
51. *Ibid.*, I, 430.

Scene in a camp during action –
19 Septr. 77.

Soon after my return to the guard the firing appearcd to bccome general on both sides & very heavy indeed – Much about this time the bat men of the army who went out for forage came gallopping into camp – having thrown of[f] their forage to save themselves & their horses by flight.[52]

In camp and not in personal danger as the mind is left to reflection it is impossible to describe how much it is affected in beholding the wounded continually coming in amidst an incessant roar of cannon & musquetry where perhaps many brave fellows are dying for their country – perhaps too in an unsuccessful battle[53] –

[*p. 30*]

General Frazer's death

You cannot conceive the sorrow ⟨visible⟩ on General Frazers being brought in wounded – your old fricnds Campbell & Johnston of our Regt. ⟨supporting him⟩ on each side of his horse supporting him. The officers all anxious and eagerly enquiring as to his wound – the down-cast ↑look↓ & melancholy that was visible to every one as to his situation and all the answer he could make to the many enquiries was a shake of his head expressive that it was all over with him – so much was he beloved that not only officers & soldiers but all the women flocked round solicitous for his fate –

He had been shot by a riflemen stationd in a tree – the ball enterd a little below the breast & penetratd to the back bone –

Asked the surgeon very composedly if his wound was mortal & being informed that it was made his will & distributed a few tokens of regard to the officers of his suite – requested to be removed to the Genl hospital[54] –

8 Oct. Early this morning he ⟨died⟩ ↑breathd his last↓ and at his particular request was buried without parade in the great redoubt by the soldiers of his own Corps. About sun set the corpse was carried up the hill; the procession was in view of both armies – As it passed by Genl. Burgoyne[,] Philips & Reidesel they were struck at the plain simplicity of the parade being only attended by the officers of his suite; but lest the army should construe it into neglect &c they joind the procession

[*p. 31*]

The Enemy cannonaded the procession as it passed & during the

52. *Ibid.*, I, 437.
53. *Ibid.*, I, 440–41.
54. *Ibid.*, I, 438–40.

service over the grave – There was an expressive mixture of sensibility & indignation upon every countenance.

Retreat

A Retreat is a matter of the highest consequence and requires the greatest conduct in a Genl. as well as resolution in both officers & soldiers for the least mismanagement puts all into confusion. A good retreat is looked upon as the chef d'ouvre of a commander[55]

The captured British on their way to N England

We were two days crossing the Green mountains. The road across them was almost impassable & to add to the difficulty when we got half way over there was a heavy fall of snow. It is impossible to describe the confusion that ensued – carts breaking down, others sticking fast, some oversetting, horses tumbling with their loads of baggage, men cursing, women shriekg children squalling,[56] –

[*p.* 32]

Yankee –

Derived from a cherokee word eankke which signifies Coward & slave. This epithet of Yankee was bestowed upon the inhabitants of NEngland by the Virginians for not assisting them in a war with the Cherokees and they have always been held in derision by it[57] –

Whig & Tory

TORY a name originally given to the wild Irish robbers who favourd the massacre of the Irish protestants in 1641. It was afterwards applied to all enormous high fliers of the church

WHIG a ludicrous name first allotted to the country field devotion meeting whose ordinary drink was whig or whey of coagulated milk. It was afterwards applied to those who were against the court interest in the reigns of Charles II & James II & of the court in the reigns of King William & King George[58] –

American troops – (militia)

⟨When I describe to you the troops you⟩

In marching the party to relief you will see an old man of 60 and a

55. *Ibid.*, I, 448–50.
56. *Ibid.*, II, 38–39.
57. *Ibid.*, II, 50.
58. *Ibid.*, II, 58–59. American usage applies these designations in reverse.

boy of 16 ⟨a great⟩ a black and an old decrepid man limping by his side [–] most of them wear great Bushy wigs [–] in short they would be a subject for the pencil of Hogarth, but egad they are ready enough in presenting their peices & if a soldier comes the least near them they level at him & say "I swear now if you attempt to pass I'll blaze at you–"[59]

[*p.* 33]

From ⟨Kalm⟩ Carver

The Whippoorwill is never met but during the spring & summer months. As soon as the Indians are informed by its notes of its return they conclude that the frost is entirely gone: in which they are seldom deceived & on receiving this assurance of milder weather begin to sow their corn –

Night Hawk.

Is s[c]arce ever seen but in the evenings when at the approach of twilight it flies about and darts itself in wanton gambols at the head of the belated traveller. Before a thunder shower these birds are seen at an amazing hieght in the air assembled together in great numbers as swallows are observd to do on the same occasion[60]

Cavern

About 30 miles below the falls of St Anthony is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians call it Wakon-teebe – that is, the dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance into it is about 10 feet wide – the height of it 5 feet[.] About 20 feet from its entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent & extends to an unsearchable distance for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it –

A pebble thrown [in] it occasions an awful noise that reverberated thro' all these gloomy regions.

In the cave are Indian Heyroglyphics very ancient nearly coverd with moss – cut in a rude manner in the walls.

At a little distance from this dreary cavern is the burying place of the Naudowessies though these people have no fixed residence living in tents & abiding but a few months on one spot [*p.* 34] yet they always bring the bones of their dead to this place.

An Indian prince at the falls of St Anthony addressed the Great Spirit

59. *Ibid.*, II, 80–81.

60. Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, 3d ed. (London, 1781), p. 467.

one of whose residences he imagined this to be – threw into the stream all his ornaments one by one – ⟨arm concl⟩ threw his arms about – appeared much agitated –

concluded by praying for protection thro his travels for Bright Sun, blue sky and clear untroubled waters – ⟨nor⟩[61]

Fire Flies

They are only seen during the months of June July and august. They are chiefly in low swampy ground. In dark nights when there is much lightning without rain they seem as if they wished either to imitate or assist the flashes for during the intervals they are uncommonly agile and endeavour to throw out every ray they can collect –

Stag beetle 1½ inches long – fly about at night and are troublesome to those who are in the fields.
Locust a septennial insect. Their noise through the country –
Water bug has many legs & passes over the water with such rapidity that it seems to glide or dart itself along.[62]

[*p.* 35]

From Boston to N York

DeWarville[63]

Left Boston at 4 Oclock & passed thro the handsome town of Cambridge, country well cultivated as far as Weston where we breakfasted. Passed to Worcester to dinner 48 miles from Boston. Elegant town, well peopled.

Slept at Spenser, a new village in the midst of the woods.

Left Spenser at 4 oclock in the morning The traveller is well recompensed for the fatigue of this route by the variety of romantic ⟨prospects⟩ situations & beautiful prospects &c Those vast ponds of water which lose themselves in the woods Those rivulets that wash the meadows newly snatched from uncultivatd nature; those neat houses scatterd among the forests & containing swarms of children joyous & healthy & well clad.

Houses

Country houses are seen at small distances through all the forests of

61. *Ibid.*, 63–67.

62. *Ibid.*, 492–93.

63. The following passages are from the third letter entitled "Journey from Boston to New York, by Land," in Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, performed in 1788* . . . , trans. Joel Barlow (Dublin, 1792).

Massachusetts; neatness embellishes them all. They have frequently but one story & a garret; the walls are papered, tea & coffee appear on their tables; their daughters clothed in callicoes display the traits of civility frankness & decency.

Almost all these houses are inhabited by men who are both cultivators & artizans; one is a tanner, another a shoemaker, another sells goods; but all are farmers. The country stores are well assorted. you find in the same shop hats, nails, liquors –

From Spenser to Brookfield. 15 miles The situation of Brookfield is picturesque. From this place to Wilbraham the road is coverd with [*p.* 36] rocks & borderd with woods

To Springfield 10 miles. This road appeard really enchanting[.] I seemed the whole way to be travelling in one of the alleys of the Palais Royal

Springfield resembles an European town – that is, the houses are near together. Set out after dinner for Hartford – passed in a ferry boat the river that washes the environs of Springfd.

Hartford

Considrd one of the most agreeable in Connecticut on account of its society. The Environs display a charmingly cultivated country. Neat Elegant houses – vast meadows coverd with herds of cattle sheep – Hogs of prodigious size with yokes. numerous families of Pigs Geese & turkies in abundance – apples for cyder & abundance of vegetables. To describe the neighbourhood of Hartford is to describe Connecticut.

Connecticut

This state owes all its advantages to its situation. It is a fertile plain enclosed between two ⟨of⟩ mountains which render difficult its communication[s] by land with the other states.

It is washed by the superb river Connecticut which falls into the sea and furnishes a safe & easy navigation. Agriculture being the basis of the riches of this state, they are here more equally divided. There is here more equality less misery, more simplicity, more virtue, more of every thing which constitutes republicanism.

Connecticut appears like one continued town On quitting Hartford you enter Wethersfield a town not less elegant, very long, consisting of [*p.* 37] houses well built. It is remarkable for its vast fields uniformly coverd with onions; of which great quantities are exported to the West Indies. It is likewise remark[abl]e for its elegant church. On Sunday it is said to offer an enchanting specta[c]le from the number of young handsome persons who assemble there.

New Haven yields not to Wethersfield for the beauty of the fair sex.

Beauty of complexion is as striking in Connecticut as its numerous population. At the taverns you meet with neatness, decency & dignity. Tables served by a young girl decent & pretty, by an amiable mother – an independent looking man. On the road you often meet these fair Connecticut girls driving a carriage (gig) or alone on horseback galloping boldly.

Before arriving at Middleton where we were to breakfast we stopped on the hill which overlooks that town & the immense valley in which it is built – It is one of the finest & richest prospects that I have seen in America –

Middleton, built like Hartford – broad streets trees on the sides & handsome houses – Changed horses & carriages at Durham & after admiring a number of picturesque situations on the road we arrived at New Haven where we dined.

leaving this we passed the inconvenient ferry at Stratford & passed the night at Fairfield. when the agreeable part of our Journey finished From this to Rye – 33 miles we had to struggle against rocks & precipices – roads were like staircases of rock One of these is called [*p.* 38] Horse neck; a chain of rocks so steep that if a horse should slip the carriage must be thrown into a valley 2 or 300 feet

From Horseneck to New Rochelle & thence to New York[64] –

[*p.* 39]

FROM WELD[65]

German settlers are fond of settling near each other. When the young men of a family grow up they generally endeavour to get a peice of land in the neighbourhood of their relations & by their industry soon make it valuable.

THE AMERICAN (probably he has the N Englanders in view) on the contrary is of a roving disposition & wholly regardless of the ties of consanguinity He takes his wife with him goes to a distant part of the country & buries himself in the woods hundreds of miles distant from the rest of his family never perhaps to see them again. In the back parts of the country you alway meet numbers of men prowling about to try & buy cheap land: having found what they like they immediately remove; nor having once removed are these people satisfied; restless & discontented with what they possess they are forever changing. It is scarcely possible in any part of the continent to find a man among the

64. De Warville, 2d ed. (London, 1794), I, 97–113.

65. The following passages are from Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper & Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, 4th ed. (London, 1807).

middling & lower classes of Americans who has not changed his farm & his residence many different times

⟨Scatt⟩ Occasions the population to be scatterd through vast extent of country. Thousands of acres of waste & unhealthy land annually taken up tho' the healthy & fertile tracts are not one fifth populated.

[*p. 40*]
Canvass back ducks. on the Susquehannah

Motley assemblage of people at a country town during court time[66] –

Soil of the Blue Mountains

⟨From frederi⟩

All along the Eastern side of the mountains from Frederick in Maryland down to N Carolina the soil is deep redish –

On crossing the mountains from Frederick a fertile brown soil is found on the west side of the mountains throughout the Shenandoah Valley and as far down as the Carolinas –

Change of Country approaching the Tobacco tracts –

Instead of well cultivated fields, green with wheat such as are met with along that rich tract which runs contiguous to the mountains large pieces of land which have been worn out with the culture of tobacco are here seen lying waste with scarcely a herb to cover them. Instead of the furrows of the plough the marks of the hoe appear on the ground. The fields are overspread with little hillocks for the reception of tobacco plants & thc eye is assailed in every [*p. 41*] direction with the unpleasant sight of gangs of male and female slaves toiling under the harsh command of the overseer. The difference of manners is also great. Instead of being amongst the phlegmatic Germans a traveller finds himself again in the midst of an inquisitive & prying set of Americans.

Falls of the Potomack

The best view from the virginia shore – Wild romantic walk along the shore, winding round the base of a high hill coverd with lofty trees & rocks. Near the shore almost the whole way are clusters of small islands coverd with trees, which suddenly opposing the rapid course of the stream form very dangerous eddies in which boats are frequently lost. On the shore prodigious heaps of white sand are heaped up by the waves and in many places the path is renderd almost inpassable by piles of

66. *Ibid.*, I, 125–29.

large trees brought down from the upper country by floods & drifted together.

The river at the ferry is 1¼ mile wide and continues much the same breadth as far as the falls where it is considerably contracted & confined in its channel by immense rocks on either side. The water does not descend perpendicularly excepting in one place close to the Virginian shore where the height is about 30 feet, but comes rushing down with tremendous impetuosity over a ledge of rocks in several different falls. The best view of the cataract is from the top of a pile of rocks about 60 feet above the level of the water & which owing to the bend in the river is situated nearly opposite to the falls. The river comes from the right, then gradually turning precipitates itself down the falls & winds along at the foot of the rocks on which you stand with great velocity. Rocks of slate colour in strata – surface in many places glossy & shining.

[*p. 42*]

Poisonous vines –

Port Tobacco. About 80 houses mostly of wood & very poor. At this place is a large *Episcopal Church* of Stone on the border of the town – out of repair – windows broken – road carried thro' the church yard over the graves – paling torn down.

From Port Tobacco to Hoes ferry on the potomac – country flat, dreary & sandy – Extensive plains of miles together – worn out by the culture of tobacco overgrown with yellow sedge (a kind of coarse harsh grass which cattle will not eat – green in spring time) interspersed with groves of pine & cedar trees whose dark green forms a curious contrast with the yellow sedge. In the midst of these plains are the remains of several good houses, which shews that the country was once very different. These are the houses most probably of people who originally settled in Maryland with Lord Baltimore, but which have[67] been suffd. to go to decay – people preferring to move to another part of the country & clear ⟨with⟩ rich land rather than try to reclaim ⟨plain⟩ these exhausted plains. In consequence of this the lower parts of Maryland appear half deserted.

The variety of roads across these flats confuse a stranger – The ferry house is an old delapidated mansion formerly perhaps the residence of some wealthy planter. now the picture of wretchedness & poverty.[68]

[*p. 43*]

After crossing the potomack Weld observes.

The part of the country where I landed appeared a perfect wilder-

67. Irving first wrote "had" but changed it to "have" in agreement with the text.
68. Weld, I, 132–39.

ness – no traces of road or pathway were visible on the loose white sand. & the cedar & pine trees grew so closely together on all sides that it was scarcely possible to see above 100 yards ahead. Taking a course however as nearly as I could guess on a straight line, at the end of an hour I came upon a narrow road which led to a large old Brick house similar to those I had left on the Maryland shore – was told by 2 blacks that if I rode on a little farther I would come to some other gentlemens houses where I could readily get accommodation. In the course of 5 or 6 miles I saw several more of the same sort of old brick houses, and as the evening was now drawing towards a close began to feel the necessity of going to some one of them. was considering which house to visit when a lively old negro mounted on a little horse came galloping after him – Negro invites him to his masters house &c.[69]

Northern Neck of Virginia. (1796)

Situated between the Potomac & Rappahanoc the birth place of many of the principal characters which distinguished themselves in America during the war. Here numbers of English gentlemen who migrated when Virginia was a young colony fixed their residence: and several of the houses which they built exactly similar to the old manor houses in England are still remaining particularly in the counties of Richmond and Westmoreland. Some of these like the houses in Maryland are quite in ruins – others are kept in good repair by the present occupiers who live in a style more approaching to that of English country gentlemen than [*p. 44*] is to be found in any other state –

Land unequally owned – Great Estates – proprietors men of liberal education some brought up in the schools & universities of England which was generally the case before the revolution – and even now a few are sent there. These Estates are continually declining and becoming subdivided – Proprietors move away to more healthy parts of the country and the present laws prohibit entails –

Planters have every thing on their Estates – Amongst their slaves are taylors, shoemakers carpenters, smiths, turners, wheelwrights, tanners, turners &c – and they weave coarse woolen clothes & cottons.

Slaves mildly treated in Virginia – Their quarters are about 200 yds from the dwelling house & give the appearance of a village to the establishment. Adjoining their little habitations the slaves commonly have small gardens and yards for poultry which are all their own propety They have time to attend to their own concerns & their

69. *Ibid.*, I, 142–43.

gardens & poultry yds are well stocked. Some of their little huts are comfortably furnished & themselves well clothed.[70]

The northern neck, excepting some few spots – is flat & sandy:pine & cedar trees – some parts well cultivated – but are intermixed with great tracts of waste worn out land, destitute of verdure so that the whole country has the appearance of barrenness.

[*p. 45*]
In some parts of Virginia when lands are left waste a spontaneous growth of pines & cedars spring up – shelter the land and in about 20 years restore the former fertility.[71]

The greater number of houses in Virginia are of wood – long porches or Piazzas in front & rear. Large halls or saloons ⟨with⟩ furnished like parlours with sophas &c. people of the lower part Virginia are sallow & languid – of the mountains – Hale, fresh, and tall[72] –

Fire in the woods.

The day had been remarkably serene. large quantities of brush wood fired in several places. In the afternoon it became sultry & streams of hot air were perceptible now & then, the usual tokens of a gust. About 5 oclock the horizon towards the north became dark and a terrible whirlwind arose I was standing with some gentlemen on an eminence & saw it gradually advancing I[t] carried with it a cloud of dust & dry leaves & pieces of rotten wood and in many places as it came along it leveld the fences & unroofed the cattle sheds. could not get to shelter – The whirlwind over took us – the shock was violent – it was hardly possible to stand & difficult to breathe[.] the whirlwind passed over in about 3 minutes but a storm accompanied by heavy thunder & lightning succeeded & lasted above ½ an hour[.] [*p. 46*] on looking around immediately after the whirlwind had passed a prodigious column of fire now appeared in a part of the wood where some brushwood had been burning in many places[.] the flame rose considerably above the summit of the trees which were of a large growth. It was a tremendous and at the same time a sublime sight.

When these fires do not receive a ⟨friendly⟩ ↑timely↓ check they sometimes encrease to an alarming height & if the grass & dead leaves

70. *Ibid.*, I. 145–49.
71. *Ibid.*, I, 151–152.
72. *Ibid.*, I, 156–57.

happen to be very dry & the wind brisk, the swiftest runners are sometimes over taken by the flames.

Country between Urbanna & Gloucester is not so flat or sandy as that on the Rappahanock. ⟨Trees of a⟩ ↑chiefly↓ Pine trees of great size yieldg turrpentine – In this neighbourhood there are numbers of ponds or small lakes surrounded by woods along some of which are views very pleasing – From most of them are falls of water into some creek or river which afford excellent seats for mills[73] –

Williamsburgh formerly the seat of Govt – Old Capitol of Brick, crumbling to peices. Maimed statue of Lord Botstourt.[74]

[*p. 47*]
Virginia Churches ⟨& private grave yards⟩

In the country parts the churches are all falling into decay. ruinous condition – windows broken doors dropping off the hinges & lying open to the pigs & cattle. The churches in Va. excepting such as are in towns stand for the most part in the woods retired from any houses and it does not appear that any persons are appointed to pay the smallest attention to them.

Burial Places.

⟨As cu⟩ It is very customary in the large Plantations of Va. & not far from the dwelling houses cemetries walled in where the people of the family are all buried. These cemetries are generally built adjoining the garden –

Dismal Swamp.

Commences 9 miles from Norfolk. & extends to NCarolina occupying on the whole about 150,000 acres. Entirely coverd with trees. Juniper & cypress in the moist places – white and red oak & ⟨pi⟩ a variety of pines in the dry –

These trees grow to an enormous sizes & the brush wood between them is so thick as to make the swamp in many places absolutely impervious. It abounds with cane reeds & long rich grass

In the interior parts are large herds of wild cattle – also Bears, wolves – deer &c stories are common of wild men found in it who were lost in the swamp when children.

73. *Ibid.*, I, 160–63.
74. *Ibid.*, I, 166. See also p. 280 and n. 27.

[*p. 48*]
In some parts the surface is quite dry – in others overflowed – and in others deep quag mires – water flows from it of a colour of Brandy – from the juniper roots[75]

Petersburgh
at the head of the navigable part of Appamatox – about 300 houses built without regularity.
The rest of the towns small & on the decline

Horses & Horsemen

Horses light, chiefly adapted to the saddle – some are handsome but for the most part spoiled by the false gaits they are taught – The Virginians are wretched horsemen. They sit with their toes just under the horses nose – their stirrups being left extremely long & the saddle put about 3 or 4 inches forward on the mane. As for the management of the reins it is what they have no conception of. A trot is odious to them & they express the utmost astonishment at a person who can like that weary gait as they call it. The favourite gaits which all their horses are taught are a pace & a *wrack*. The former a shuffling unnatural gait by which the horse moves his two feet on one side at once. In the latter the horse gallops with his fore feet & trots with those behind – a gait devoid of grace – contrary to nature & uneasy to the horse[76]

[*p. 49*]
Singing birds
It is thought that ⟨th⟩ in Va. the singing birds are finer than are to be met with in any other part of the continent – the climate being congenial to them – being neither so hot in summer as the Carolinas nor so cold in winter as in the Northern States –
Mocking bird – blue bird – red bird
Doves – quails[77] –

Columbia – or Point of Fork
Situated 60 miles above Richmond on the confluence of the Rivanna & Fluvanna Rivers. which united form James river. This is a flourishing little place –

75. *Ibid.*, I, 177–80.
76. *Ibid.*, I, 184–87.
77. *Ibid.*, I, 194–96.

From Columbia to green springs 20 miles. Road runs thro a lonely pine forest[78] –

South West Mountains

Nearly parralel to the Blue ridge – & the first you come to from the sea coast – not lofty and should rather be called hills –
⟨Along⟩ salubrious climate Peasantry healthful & ruddy – females ⟨very⟩ handsome – delightful to see groupes of them assembld to gather cherries Their shapes & complexions charming – & set off by the carelessness of their dresses consisting of little more than a simple boddice & petticoat

Along these mountains live several gentlemen of large landed property, who farm their own estates, as in the lower parts of *Va.*[79]

[*p. 50*]

Lynchburgh.

Situated on the South side of the Fluvanna River – 150 miles above Richmond. 100 houses[80]
a few miles above Lynchburgh towards the Blue mountains is a small town called New London in which is a Magazine & armoury.

Between this place & the blue mountains the country is rough & hilly & thinly inhabitd. The people however are uncommonly robust & tall – genrally 6 feet high These people entertain a high opinion of their own superiority in point of bodily strength over the inhabitants of the low country – A similar race of men is found all along the blue mountains –

Blue Ridge

Thickly coverd with large trees to the very summit. Some of the mountains are rugged & extremely stoney – others not so & the soil of the last is rich & fertile. It is only in particular places that this ridge can be crossed and at some of the gaps the ascent is steep & difficult. I crossed it near the peak of Otter – where there is a succession of small hills so that you ascend imperceptibly –

Beyond the blue Ridge after crossing by this route there are but few settlements till you draw near to Fincastle in Bottetourt County – 20 miles from the [*p. 51*] mountain & 15 south of Fluvanna river.

Inhabitd ⟨by pr⟩ in ⟨18⟩ 1786 principaly by Germans –

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78. *Ibid.*, I, 197–98.
79. *Ibid.*, I, 203–206.
80. *Ibid.*, I, 210.

on the western side of the Blue ridge you meet with sleighs – but none on the eastern side where the winter is much milder & snow seldom remains more than a day or two upon the ground.[81]

Bottetourt County

entirely surrounded by mountains. it is also crossed by various ridges of mountains in difft. directions – which renders the climate particularly agreeable – The frost in winter is more regular but not severer than commonly takes place in the British islands. In summer the heat is perhaps somewhat greater – but there is not a night in the year that a blanket is not found very comfortable. before 10 oclock in the morning the heat is greatest[.] at that hour a breeze from the mountains generally springs up and renders the air agreeable the whole day –

In the western parts of the county are several medicinal springs whither people resort towards the latter end of the Summer to escape the heat of the low counties & drink the waters. The most frequentd are the SWEET SPRINGS situated at the foot of the Allegany mountains.

[*p. 52*]

Natural Bridge

In Rockbridge County near the Fluvanna river & nearly the same distance from the Blue Ridge[82] –

Madisons Cave –

50 miles northward of the Natural Bridge[83]

The Country immediately behind the Blue Mountains, between Bottetourt County & the Patomack is agreeably diversified by hill & dale & abounds with extensive tracts of rich land.

The low grounds bordering on the SHENANDOAH RIVER which runs contiguous to the Bluc ridge for upwards of 100 miles are in particular distinguishd for their fertility These low grounds are those which strictly speaking constitute the Shenandoah Vally – tho in general the country lying for several miles distant from the river & in some parts very hilly, goes under that name.

The climate here is not so warm as in the lower parts of the country, or the eastern side of the mountains, but it is by no means as temperate as in Bottetourt county which from being environd with ridges of mountains is constantly refreshd with cooling breezes during summer & shelterd from the northern blasts during winter –

81. *Ibid.*, I, 212–15.
82. *Ibid.*, I, 218–21.
83. *Ibid.*, I, 225.

[*p.* 53]
⟨[*two words unrecovered*] Country nearly [*three words unrecovered*]⟩ It is only in this particular neighbourhood that the country is so much improved – in other places there are immense tracts of woodland and in general the hills are all less uncleared. The hills thus clothed add much to the beauty of the ⟨landscape⟩ Country and intermixed with extensive fields clothed with the richest verdure & waterd by the numerous branches of the Shenandoa a variety of pleasing landscapes are presented to the eye in almost every part of the route from Bottetourt to the Potowmac many of which are considerably heightend by the appearance of the Blue mountains in the Background –

The cultivated lands in this country are mostly parceld out in small farms – few persons ⟨for⟩ much distinguished for either wealth or knowledge. A happy mediocrity – generally possess the farms they live on.

Free inhabitants generally German. 1/6 of the population slaves – in Rockbridge not above 1/11 and in Shenandoah County 1/20th.

Travellers in Shenandoa Valley

Some going from Kentucky & Tennassee to Philadelphia & others going in a [*p. 54*] contrary direction to *explore* as they call it. These people all travel on horseback – with pistols or swords & a large blanket folded under the saddle to sleep in when they are obliged to pass a night in the woods. There is little danger now peace is made with the indians (1796) but formerly it was a serious undertaking to go by this route to Kentucky –

Frequently stopped abruptly in solitary parts of the road by Kentuckyan in a manner that had it been in another country he would have taken the person for a highwayman – asked an endless string of questions –

Little fresh food ⟨to g⟩ to ⟨beg⟩ be got among the mountains except Venison – Genrally salt pork boiled with turnip tops or fried bacon or fried salt fish – &c[84]

[*p.* 55]

Scene ⟨at⟩ ↑in↓ the Blue ridge when the Patomac passes through –

The approach towards the place is wild and romantic. After crossing a number of small hills. which rise one above another in succession You at last perceive the break in the Blue Ridge. At the same time the road suddenly turning winds down a long & steep hill shaded

84. *Ibid.*, I, 230–36.

with lofty trees whose branches unite over your head. On one side of the road there are large heaps of rocks above you, which seem to threaten destruction to any one that passes under them; on the other a deep precipice presents itself at the bottom of which is heard the roaring of the waters that are concealed from the eye by the thickness of the foliage. Towards the end of this hill about sixty feet above the level of the water stands a tavern and a few houses.[85] ⟨and⟩

The rocks of the ⟨mountain⟩ blue ridge are bedded in rich soft earth – frequently washd away by heavy rains – Mr. Weld's clambring among the rocks in the evening above the torrent dislodges fragments of rock, which bring down others with thundering sound – he thot the whole mountain was falling – He slid down about 20 feet & then caught hold of a branch of a tree by which he clung. Rocks continued to roll heap after heap – paused, & began again – was fearful that some large [*p. 56*] mass might detach itself & bring down the very tree on which he held. Night was approaching. He did not know his way among the mountain paths, except by the way he had come – had to return at hazard of his neck, over the tumbled masses. People told him that on the dissolution of Snow immense rocks would sometimes roll down with a crash that might be heard for miles.[86]

Houses in Maryland

For the most part built of wood and painted with Spanish brown, and in front there is generally a long porch painted white.[87]

[*p. 57*]

Warm days in Philadelphia

During these days no one stirred out of doors that was not compelled to do so. Those that could make it convenient with their business always walked with umbrellas to shade them from the sun; light hats were universally worn and the young men appeared dressed in cotton or linen Jackets and trousers; every gleam of sunshine seemed to be considered as baneful & destructive The window shutters of each house were closed early in the morning so as to admit no more light than what was absolutely necessary for domestic business; many of the houses indeed were kept so dark that on going into them from the street it was impossible at first to perceive who was present. The best houses in the city are furnished with Venetian blinds at the outside to the window &

85. *Ibid.*, I, 239–40.

86. *Ibid.*, I, 242–43. Irving paraphrased and narrated in third person what Weld gives as a personal experience.

87. *Ibid.*, I, 246.

hall doors, which are made to fold together like common window shutters. Where they had these they constantly kept them closed and the windows & doors are left open behind them to admit air. A very different scene was presented in the city as soon as the Sun was set; every house was then thrown open & the inhabitants all crowded into the streets to take their evening walks and visit their acquaintances. It appeared every night as if some grand spectacle was to be exhibited for not a street or alley was there but what was in a state of commotion. This varied scene usually lasted till about 10 oclock. at 11 there is no city in the world perhaps so quiet all the year round.[88]

[*p.* 58]

Woods in the upper part of N York

composed chiefly of Oak, hickory, Hemlock & beech trees. intermixed with which appeared great numbers of the smoothback or Weymouth pines as they are called that seemed almost peculiar to this part of the country –

Wild raspberries growing in the Woods[89] –

⟨made⟩

The Indians catch Salmon & other large fish ⟨at night⟩ in ⟨the follow⟩ in this manner – at night two go in a canoe. One sits in the stern & paddles[;] the other stands with a spear over a flambeau in the head of the canoe – The fish ⟨is⟩ attracted by the light come in numbers round the canoe when the spearman strikes them[90]

[*p.* 59]

From Kalm

Mode of crossing streams by cutting down tall trees ⟨and⟩ which stood on their banks and throwing them across the water[91] –

Swallows, (in pennsylvania) appear early in April – build in the side of ⟨hills⟩ – banks, precipices &c[92]

Chimney Swallows appear early in may –

Purple martins, build about the houses – drive away hawk & crows (*by way of reccompense* for *protection*) & alarm the poultry by their anxious

88. *Ibid.*, I, 251–52.
89. *Ibid.*, I, 281.
90. *Ibid.*, II, 86.
91. Probably Irving's comment or paraphrase of an unidentified travel observation.
92. Weld, II, 142–43.

note of the approach of the enemy – when the chickens will run under shelter.[93]
Bullfrogs If spring is mild they appear about the end of March – if otherwise, late in April.[94]
Cedar Swamps, full of white Cedar or white Juniper (it is really of the cypress kind)[95]
Tame hind owned by an Englishman that used to go into the woods & decoy Stags[96] –
IN PENNSYLVANIA the Peach trees blossom in the after part of April – Also cherry & apple trees
May 2. Sassafras tree with fine yellow flowers – leaves not yet out. Wild Prune trees – & Dogwood in blossom. Woods full of Birds – Crab Apples blossom 4 May. blossoms more reddish than the cultivated apple. blossoms ⟨much⟩ later than the cultivated apple ⟨The latter indeed certain to open at the first warmth of spring⟩[97]

[*p. 60*]
Wild honeysuckle – or Pinxter Bloom in blossom early in May.[98]
May 6 – Mulberry trees begin to bloom
Woods tangled by the vines running from tree to tree & twining around bushes & woods.[99]
May 25 The [*ink blot*] ↑Tulip↓ tree in full bloom
– 28. Magnolia glauca in full bloom the flowers have a very pleasant fragrancy which refreshes the travellers in the woods
The flowers of the wild vine afterwards supplied the place of those of the Magnolia Several other flowers perfumed the air
Dwarf Laurel (common in Pennsyl. N Jersey & N York) flowers grow in bunches like crowns and are of a fine lovely purple colour. They grow round the extremity of the stalk and make it look like a pyramid[100]
June 2. Beaver tree (Magnolia glauca) in the swamps is in flower & extremely fragrant[101]

On the Hudson above Albany.
The woods abound with vines which likewise grow on the ↑steep↓ banks of the river in amazing quantities. They climb to the top of the trees

93. *Ibid.*, II, 146–48.
94. *Ibid.*, II, 171.
95. *Ibid.*, II, 174.
96. *Ibid.*, II, 196–98.
97. *Ibid.*, II, 162–66.
98. Kalm, II, 169.
99. *Ibid.*, II, 184–85.
100. *Ibid.*, II, 213–15. Also copied into "Notebook 1818, Number 1"; see p. 258.
101. *Ibid.*, II, 221.

and bend them by their weight But when they found no trees they hung down the steep shores & coverd them entirely. The Water Beech – Water poplar & Elm [*p. 61*] all grow along the rivers & serve to keep up the banks with their roots.

Prunetrees are plenty here – Sumach[102]

Dutch houses in Albany

The gutters reach onto the street & carry the water off of the houses but pour it on the heads of passengers. Street doors in the middle of the houses with benches on each side on which in hot weather people spend almost the whole day especially when in the shadow of the houses.[103]

Weld

Journey through the woods

From Fort Erie. Had indian Guides – breakfasted by the side of a little stream of clear water – On the banks of another eat their dinner & at a third stopped for the night – pitched tent. Indians gatherd cranberries – another carried dried leaves into the tent which with buflalo skins made a fine bed. Indians slept before the fire ⟨Th⟩ country very interesting – woods interspersed with fine openings of great magnitude – from 15 or 20 miles in circumference – Trees on the borders extremely luxuriant. Clumps of trees appeared like islands in the midst[104]

2d. Evening encamp on a small hill with a fine view along a stream. Indians cook squirrels[105]

3d evening encamped. The Indians thruw off their clothes & rolled on the grass to refresh themselves – ⟨advising some &⟩ Squirrels the only wild animals they met with.

Woodpeckers were heard ⟨no & the⟩ now & then They generally flock towards the settlements and it is a rare thing to find them in the depth of the forest[106]

[*p. 62*]

From Weld.

In the States the hunters commonly shoot with balls 60 to the lb. Dogs of a large size are chosen for Bear hunting. Those preferred seem

102. *Ibid.*, II, 250–51. Also copied into "Notebook 1818, Number 1"; see p. 257.
103. *Ibid.*, II, 257.
104. Weld, II, 308–13.
105. *Ibid.*, II, 318.
106. *Ibid.*, II, 320.

to be a breed between the bloodhound & mastiff. They will follow the scent of the bear, as indeed most field dogs will. ⟨They share⟩ Chief use is to keep the Bear at bay while the hunters reload. The young bears at sight of a Dog take to a tree But the old ones do not, unless they see a hunter coming on horse back –

The Indians generally go in large parties to hunt bears & on coming to a place where these animals are supposed to be lurking – form a circle & endeavour to arouse them. It is seldom the white hunters assemble together in sufft. numbers to pursue their game in this manner.

An experienced hunter can at once discern the track of a bear deer or other ↑large↓ animal in the woods and can tell with no small degree of precision how long a time before it passed that way.

After killing the bear ye first care is to strip him of his skin. Afterwards the carcass is cut up with tomahawk. The Indians hold the paws of the bear in great estimation – Stewed up with young puppies they are served up at all their principal feasts. On killing the animal the paws are gashed with a knife & hung over a fire amid the smoke to dry.[107]

Indian Dances.

Men & women never dance together unless a pretty squaw be introduced into the main dance by some young fellow which is considered a very great favour. They first walk round the fire close [*p. 63*] after one another in short steps to the music – after one round the step is alterd to a wider one & they begin to stamp with vehemence – every 3 & 4th round making little leaps off the ground. at last having made a dozen or two rounds towards the end of which each stamps on the ground with inconcievable fury they all give a loud shout at once & the dance ends.

The music. ⟨is⟩ three elderly men were the principal musicians. One beat a small drum formed of a piece of hollow tree coverd with a skin & the two others marked time equally with the drum with rattles of Dried gourds filled with pease. These men also sung and the dancers joined in the song – or sometimes only came in with responses.

There is something inconceivably terrible in the sight of a number of Indians dancing thus round a fire in the depths of thick woods and the loud shrieks at the end of every dance add greatly to the horror which their first appearance inspires.[108]

At the War dance the warrior recounts all the events of his battles &c and at the end of every remarkable story strikes his war club on a post with great fury. These stories succeed each other. A Bear or deer is put to the fire to roast at the beginning of the dance, & the warriors

107. *Ibid.*, II, 150–53.
108. *Ibid.*, II, 289–91.

occasionally help themselves to slices. At the end of all the individual dances there is a general & fiendlike dance – brandish their weapons &c.

The Indian flute or pipe – formed of a thick cane two feet or more in length 9 holes – held like a clarinet, sound produced by a mouthpiece – sounds are not inharmonious. Indians cannot play tunes but will sit for hours over the embers of their cabin fires playing over a few wild melancholy notes.[109]

[*p. 64*]

IMLAY'S KENTUCKY[110]

THE KENTUCKY ↑is amazingly crooked upwards of 200 miles long & 150 yards broad –↓ is bound every where by high rocky precipices, that are generally two hundred feet and upwards perpendicular & which makes its passes difficult. Few places on it have any bottom land as the rock rises ⟨almost⟩ mostly contiguous to the bed of the river, which confinement after heavy rains renders it very formidable from the impetuosity of the current: (empties itself into the Ohio, which in its turn ⟨flows⟩ ↑throws↓ itself into the Mississippi which brings its collected tribute of ten thousand streams & pours it into the ocean)

The Ohio River.

Bounds Kentucky on its whole length – being a mile & sometimes less in breadth – & is sufft. to carry boats of great burden – Its genl. course is south. 60 degrees west – it receives numbers of large & small rivers – The only disadvantage of this fine river is a rapid 1½ mile long and 1¼ miles broad – called the falls of the Ohio.

besides this Kentucky is waterd by 8 smaller rivers & many large & small creeks.

Licking River heading in the mountains with cumberland River & the N Branch of Kentucky river runs in a NW direction for upwards of a hundred miles collecting its silver streams from many branches and is about 100 yards wide at its mouth –

[*p. 65*]

Red river heads & interlocks with the main branch of Licking & flows in a S. W. Course. into Kentucky river. 60 miles long 60 yds wide at its mouth –

109. *Ibid.*, II, 293–94.

110. The following passages are from *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America by John Filson . . . to which are added I. The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon . . . II. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council . . . III. An Account of the Indian Nations . . .* , ed. George [i.e., Gilbert] Imlay, 2d ed. (London, 1793). For Irving's continued interest in Daniel Boone see pp. 247–52, 263 and n. 49.

Elk Horn – a small river emptying into the Kentucky.
Dicks river joins Kentucky r. in a NW direction
Salt river. curious windings – rolls its streams round a spacious tract of fine land – Amazingly crooked
Green river interlocking with the heads of Dicks river, very crooked Keeps a W. course for upwards of 150 miles. 80 yds wide at its mouth –
Cumberland River interlocks with the northern branch of Kentucky & rolling round the other arms of Kentucky among the mountains in a Southern course above 100 miles there is a S.W. course for ↑above↓ a 100 miles, then in a Southern & S. Western course for 250. finds the Ohio. 413 miles below the falls.
Great Kenkaway – rises in N Carolina runs a northern & N.W. Course for upwards of 400 miles & finds the Ohio 400 miles above the falls.

The springs & streams lessen in June & continue low hindering navigation until november when the autumnal rains replenish the whole country with water & restore navigation.[111]

[*p. 66*]

Further ⟨pas⟩ accounts of Kentucky rivers

We find many fertile bottoms along the river especially towards its rise – The country through which it winds its course for the most part is level to its banks or rather precipices, from the brow of which we behold the river three & sometimes 400 feet deep like a great canal.[112] These precipices are of solid perpendicular lime stone rock & in some parts a fine white marble either curiously arched, pillard or blocked up into fine building stones. Precipices crowned with fine groves of cedar. River can only be crossed at particular places – one is a great road large enough for waggons – made by Buffaloes sloping with an easy ascent from the ↑top to ye↓ bottom of a very steep hill at or near the river above Lees town[113] –

Nature of the Soil

The country is some parts nearly level in others not so much so. In others hilly but moderately. The levels are not like a carpet but rising & falling & form beautiful prospects. A great part of the soil is extremely fertile – others not so good & some poor.[114] Soil is a loose deep black mould without sand in the [*p. 67*] first rate lands about 2 or 3 feet deep & very luxurious. Country well timberd –

111. *Ibid.*, pp. 281–85.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

Among the trees the *Honey locust* is curiously surrounded with large thorny spikes bearing long pods in form of ⟨beans⟩ peas has a sweet taste & makes excellent beer.

Papaw tree or Papwa – does not grow to a great size & is a soft wood. Black Mulberry trees are abundant.

Wild Cherry is frequent – Buckeye an exceeding soft wood.

Cane grows from 3 to 12 feet high – There are many cane brakes so thick & tall that it is difficult to pass thro them Where no cane grows there is abundance of wild rye, clover & buffalo grass – covring vast tracts of country & affordg excellent pasturage – Fields coverd with wild herbage not common to other countries The Shawanese sallad, wild lettuce & pepper grass – The finest crown imperial in the world. ye cardinal flower so much extolled for its ⟨beauty⟩ scarlet colour & all the year except the winter months the plains & valleys are adorned with flowers of great beauty. Here is also the tulip bearing laurel tree – a magnolia of an exquisite smell which continues to blossom & seed for many months together[115] –

[*p. 68*]

Cane, Rye grass & native clover

The cane is a reed that grows to the height frequently of fifteen or sixteen feet but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and is in thickness from the size of a goose quill to that of two Inches diameter. Sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender it never grows higher than from four to seven feet: it shoots up in one summer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen and is perhaps the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavour and richness as that which is produced ⟨by⟩ from cows which feed upon the cane. Horses which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of salt – otherwise this food is liable to heat & bind their bowels.

The Rye grass when it arrives at maturity is from 2½ to 3½ feet & the head & beard resemble the real rye & sometimes produce a small grain long and slender, not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the same perfection I can form no idea – it is ⟨cer⟩ however certain that it is a very good & valuable grass.

The Clover is in no respect different from the clover in Europe, but it is more coarse & luxurient

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115. *Ibid.*, pp. 292–95.

⟨G⟩ *Big Bone Lick*

Between the mouths of Licking & Kentucky lies the *great bone lick*, which is justly celebrated for the remarkable bones found there.[116]

[*p. 69*]

(Ohio) Plains of Kentucky –
(in 1796)

After passing the main branch of the Salt River near Bullits lick, ten miles distant, in the fork of the north & south branches the country becomes broken & hilly, but between which & the Cumberland road that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky there is a considerable extent of fine land, but travelling a few ⟨miles⟩ leagues farther southward you arrive at extensive plains, that extend upwards of 150 miles in a S.W. course & end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees and a grove here & there are the only obstacles to a boundless horizon. It is pleasant to behold the deer bounding over the scraggy shrubs which cover the earth, while the setting sun gilds those extensive plains the mild breezes of a summers eve playing upon the enraptured senses, softens the heart to love & friendship. Unperceived upon some eminence you may enjoy the sports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field.

The native strawberry is found in these plains as are likewise plums of different sorts – native grapes &c.[117]

Sugar Maple

Old black trees the best. Their blackness proceeds from the incisions made in the bark by the birds in the season of the juice; rising which oozing out dribbles down & stains the bark which in process of time becomes black[118] –

[*p. 70*]

After leaving Port St. Vincent in the route to the Illinois country you soon fall into those extensive plains which have been described in such glowing colours by Hutchins. Immense number of Deer, Elk & Buffalo which are seen grazing on those natural meadows renders even wildness enchanting. The air in this climate is fine & the almost continual unclouded sky tends not a little to charm the senses.[119]

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116. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–47.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 53–56.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

Grouse

Amidst the mountains & broken country are great numbers of the grouse I have described &, since the first settlement quail by following the trail of grain which is necessarily scatterd through the wilderness has migrated from the old settlements on the other side of the mountain and become a constant resident with us –

Teal, and *Summer Duck* the latter so called from breeding in temperate climates [120]

Salt Licks

occasiond by salt springs. The amazing herds of Buffaloes which resort thither by their size & number fill the traveller with amazement & terror – especially if he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters as if leading from some populous city – The vast space ↑of land↓ around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy & hills reduced to plains for the land near these springs are chiefly hilly[121] –

(battles of animals near Lick)

[*p. 71*]

Mississippi

The Mississippi flows below Lake pepin with a gentle current – breadth uncertain sometimes upwards of a mile at others not more than a quarter.

This river has a range of mountains throughout the whole way, which in particular places approach near to it, in others lie at a greater distance.

The land between the mountains on either side is generally coverd with grass with a few groves of trees interspersed, near which large droves of deer & Elk are frequently seen feeding.

In many places pyramids of rocks appeard resembling old ruinous towers, at others amazing precipices – which on the opposite side of the same mountain was coverd with herbage to the very summit. From thence the most beautiful prospect that can be imagind opens to your view

Verdant plains – fruitful meadows numerous islands & all abounding with a varity of trees that yield amazing quantities of fruit –

Nut trees – Maple, grape vines – plants &c the winding river flowing gently beneath[122] –

[*p. 72*]

⟨*Making of the Maple Sugar*

Made in fine groves – and with some rustic festivity –⟩

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120. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 136–37.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Stations of Early settlers –

Quadrangular or oblong forts of Log buildings placd connectedly, only leaving openings for gateways. Fixed near good water and on a body of good land. It was necessary often to keep close in those Fortresses & keep horses & cattle up lest the indians should shoot the cattle & carry off the horses – The country around was then an entire wilderness.

As the country settled these stations broke up & the inhabitants spread themselves

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Settler –

builds Log house with assistance of neighbors [– –] girdles trees & sows indian corn – – potatoes [– –] cattle & hogs feed in the woods – horses on cane & wild clover – plants small garden – poultry – by the 4th. year builds a better house & has orchard –

Kills game occasionally, though in general it requires too much time for an industrious man.[123]

[*p.* 73]

Maple Sugar

Made by the women, fine groves – the song of the Mockbird & paroquet. In the evening men having finished work join them – rustic merriment[124]

Distance from Richmond to Kentucky –

500 miles great part of the road over steep & high hills upon the banks of rivers & along defiles of threatening aspect.[125]

Grasses

The wild pea vine in a small degree resembles the english pea vine. It has the same kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, shrubs and rye grass, which frequently grows interspersed with it. Its blossoms are of a reddish hue and it produces a small and imperfect pea. In very rich soil it grows from three to five feet high, but in general it does not exceed eighteen inches or two feet and is not of so luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but has a much nearer resemblance to grass.

Our other principal sorts of natural grass are the buffalo, orchard, spear, blue & crab grasses. The Buffalo grass is rather coarse, grows from 9 to 18 inches high and is generally found most plenty in a middling soil. It has a broad leaf & seems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally spring up after the land [*p.* 74] has been cultivated and from

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 149–52.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

excellent pastures and are also capable of being made into hay particularly the spear and blue grass.

Flowers

Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus and a profusion of daisies appear on the approach of spring, which are succeeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, hearts ease, lilies red & white, Holly oaks [Hollyhocks], pinks, golden rod, cowslips, May flowers, jessamine, columbine, honey suckles rock honeysuckles, tuberose, ranunclas, marsh mallows, violets, roses of different sorts &c

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Herbs.

Of the Wild sort are Marjoram, Sun dew, Sage, Thyme, Indian leaf, Rose mary, Angelica Fennel, Lovage, Mugwort, Ox eye, Mother wort Feverfew, Cats mint, Pennyroyal, Rue, Mint Yarrow, Burnet, Nettle, Fanicle, rupture-wort, Cudweed, white & black Maiden hair – Cole wort ground pine, toothwort, ground ivy, Mountain-polly – horehound, Ladys mantle, Celadine, Jews ear – Horse mint, water cresses, Scurvy grass Mustard, Hyssop, Tansy, Glass wort, Hellebore, Wolfsbane, Spiknard – &c

We have adopted names that are common in Europe & presume that it is the affinity between your plants & ours which have produced these denominations –

[*p.* 75]

Farinaceous leguminous plants &c

Indian corn, wild oat, wild rye, Indian millet, wild pea, panic, Lupine, Jerusalem artichoke, cymlings, squashes, purslain, lettuce.

Fibrous plants

Wild hemp – Wild Flax, Wild hop.

Roots &c

Sarsaparilla, Ipecacuhana, Pleurisy root Virginia snake root. Black snake root – seneca rattlesnake root, Valerian. Ginseng Cassava, Granadillas.

Fruits

Mulberry, Green river plumb. Barren or red plumb. Cherokee plumb. Wild cherry wild Crab apple, Persimmon, Grapes, Scarlet strawberry, whortleberries. wild gooseberries, wild currants, cranberries, Black rasperries

May apple. produced from an annual plant among the first vegetables that come forward in the spring; it is about 10 or 12 Inches high advancing rapidly to maturity. When ripe it is of the colour of a pale

orange. Pulp of a succulent nature without any seed – flavour like a pine apple – ripe early in June
Acimene. grows on a shrub & is 4 or 5 Inches in length & 1 or 1½ in diameter. Pulp sweet & tender, ripens in July –
Peakimine. species of plumb nearly the size of the mogul plumb but more delicious
Papaw grows on a tree from 12 to 25 feet high – shaped like a cucumber, ripe [*p. 76*] about midsummer – pulp yellow & too luscious – good when boiled green –

Trees

Hickory's – Blk wallnut, White walnut chesnut, Hazlenut, Plane tree, Lime tree, Poplar, Blk Poplar, Redflowering maple – umbrella tree, Buckeye, Aspen – Reed or Cane Locust, Honeylocust, Barberry, Dogwood, snow drop tree – Holly – Swamp laurel, Catalpa, Wild pimento, Red bud, sassafras[,] common Laurel, Red bay, Dwarf Rose bay, Alder, Candleberry maple, Sumach Cottontree, Satin wood tree – Dwarf laurel American aloe, Ivy, Hemlock fir, Papaw[,] Trumpet Honeysuckle, Upright Honey suckle[,] Black oak, white oak, red oak, willow oak, ⟨live oak &c⟩ ↑sugar↓ maple. Beech[,] white ash, Blk ash, Elm, Slippery Elm[,] Button wood tree – Birch, pitch pine white & yellow pine (only on the mountains) spruce pine (on the precipice of river banks & sides of high hills) Cypress, white cedar.

The best soil produces little timber but the locust, cherry, walnut, Buckeye sugar tree, elm, beech, ash, satinwood, & papaw – Middlerate Lands Hickory, dog wood, oaks, beech & some kinds of sugar tree

Shrubs.

principal are the myrtle & spiceberry

[*p. 77*]

Animals

Buffalo, Bison, Moose elk, Elk (round horned) Caribou, Red deer, Roe, Fallow deer, Bear, Wild cat, Wolf, Glutton, Lynx, Beaver, otter, red fox, grey fox, Hedge hogs, Martin, Weasel, Water rat, Flying squirrel, Fox Squirrel, Blk Sql. Red Sql. Great grey Sql. – Mink, Shrew Mouse, Raccoon, Opposum, Skunk – Cougar, Rabbit, Panther, Woodchuck – Porcupine, Dormouse[126]

Birds

Bald Eagle, Turkey Buzzard – Sparrow hawk Pigeon hawk Fishinghawk, Field martin – Little owl – Tyrant martin or King bird – Perroquet,

126. *Ibid.*, pp. 222–35.

redheaded woodpecker – Large crested ditto. White bill do. gold winged do. red bellied Do. & Blue Jay, Carolina Cuckoo Red Thrush. Purple Finch, Blue linnet, Rice bird, *Snow bird*, Red bird, Crested Fly catcher, Summer red bird – Cat bird – Blue bird – *Wren* Great bat or Goat sucker *King Fisher*, Killdee, Wild pigeon, turtle dove, Night Hawk, Screech owl, Crane Great gray eagle, Featherhead Turkey buzzard – large pouch pelican – Raven – Whistling plover, Wild goose – Various wild Ducks crested bittern – blue heron – wood pelican – swan, loon – mountain pheasant, Wild Turkey, Wood Duck &c &c[127]

[*p. 78*]

Indian tribes

Cherokees, lived between the great bend of the Tenassee & the Ridges of the ↑Alleghany↓ mountains
Chactaws between the same bend and the Mississippi & Natches.
Upper Creeks – between the east branches of the river Apalachies East florida, the cherokee nation & the Mississippi
Lower Creeks between the upper creeks & the gulf of Mexico –
Natches – a little to the east of the Natches
Chickasaws between the southern limits of Cumberland, the Chactaw nations & the head waters of Mobile.
Lezars between the mouth of the ohio & Wabash
Piankishaws, Vermilions & Mascontins between the Wabash & Illinois
Illinois near Cahokia
Miamis near Fort St Joseph
Wyandots between Fort St Joseph & Detroit

the Six nations [*written in left margin*][128]

Senecas – upon the waters of Ohio, Lake Erie, Ontario & Susquehana
Cayugas – upon the Cayuga
Oneidas – East side of the oneida & head branches of the Susquehana
Tuscaroras. Between the Oneidas & Onandagoes
Onandagoes. near Onandago
Mohocks on the western branch of the Mohock

[*p. [79]*]

Colonel Daniel Boon.[129]

Set out to explore Kentucky 1 May 1769 from his home on the Yadkin

127. *Ibid.*, pp. 237–43.

128. *Ibid.*, pp. 252–57. In left margin a bracket linking the last six tribes with the phrase "the Six nations," written along the bracket.

129. The following account of Boone's exploration of Kentucky is from Imlay's account published in the volume by Filson. See also pp. 239, 263 and n. 49.

river in NCarolina in company with John Finley, John Stewart Joseph Holden, James Monay & William Cool.

After toiling thro the wilderness on the 7 June found themselves on Red River and from the top of an eminence saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky. At this place they encamped & began to hunt & recconnoitre the country. Found abundance of wild Beasts. The Buffalo ⟨cropping the herbage on⟩ browzing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains. Sometimes hundreds in a drove – & the numbers about the salt springs were amazing.

Remain here several months – ⟨at to⟩ until 22 Decr. Rambling at the decline of day with John Stewart near the banks of the Kentucky a number of Indians rushed out of a Cane brake & made them prisoner

After some days as they lay at the dead of night by a great fire in a cane brake, the Indians being asleep they escaped: returned to their camp – found it plunderd – the company dispersed & returnd home.

About this time Boons brother & another adventurer having set out on an adventurous quest after him accidentally found the camp – a joyful meeting in the wilderness.

[*p. 80*]

Soon after John Stewart was killed by the savages & the man that came with Boons brother returned home – They were therefore left alone, the only white men in this vast wilderness. They however were in good spirits & lived happily. Hunted daily & prepared a cottage for winter – remained during winter[.] on 1 May 1770 his brother returned home for a new recruit of horses & ammunition. He remained alone –

Account of one days ramble

One day I undertook a tour through the country & the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season expelled every gloomy & vexatious thought – Just at the close of day the gentle gales retired and left the place to the disposal of a profound calm. Not a breeze shook the most tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge & looking round with astonishing delight beheld the ample plains the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand I surveyed the famous river Ohio that rolled in silent dignity marking the western boundary of Kentucky. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows and penetrate the clouds – All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water and feasted on the loin of a buck which a few hours before I had killed. The sullen shades of night soon overspread the whole ⟨stories⟩ hemisphere & the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture My roving excursion this day had fatigued my body & diverted my imagination I laid me down to sleep & I awoke not until the sun had chased away the night

[*p. 81*]

He continued rambling about the wilderness & returned after a while to his camp which had not been disturbed. used sometimes to sleep in the canebrakes for fear of the savages – continually in danger – but always cheerful –

Heard wolves at night & saw various animals thro the day.

"Thus was I surrounded with plenty in the midst of want. I was happy in the midst of dangers & inconveniences. In such a diversity it was impossible I should be disposed to melancholy No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce & stately structures could afford so much pleasure to my mind as the beauties of nature I found here."

27 July his brother returned – left the camp thinking it unsafe to stay there longer & removed to Cumberland river – recconnoiterd the country & gave names to the waters until March 1771.

returned soon after to his family to bring them to Kentucky –

Sold his farm on the Yadkin & what goods he could not take with him & 25 Sept 1773 bade farewell to his friends & proceeded to Kentucky with 5 families more & 40 men who joined them in Powels valley.

10 Octr: the rear of the company attacked by indians. 6 killed 1 wounded – Boons eldest son fell in the action. Repulsed the enemy – but the cattle was scatterd & the company [*p. 82*] discouraged. Retreated 40 miles to the settlement on clench River. They had passed over 2 Mountains viz Powels & Waldens & were approaching Cumberland mountain when this accident happd –

Remaind with his family on clench river until 6 June 74 when he ⟨sto⟩ & one Michael Stoner at the request of Govr. Dunmore ⟨conducted a party⟩ went to falls of Ohio & conducted into the settlement a number of surveyors.

In 1775 March. Attended a treaty with the Cherokees at Wataga on behalf of gentlemen of N Carolina, about the purchase of lands on S side of Kentucky River. Undertook to lay out a road from the settlement thro the wilderness to Kentucky.

Harrassed by the Indians in this undertaking – & some of his hardy followers killed[.] Persevered & built a fort at Boonsborough on the Kentucky. Fort finished, returned to clench. Removed his family from clench to the garrison – Harrassed by the indians.

July 14. 1776. Two of Col Calaways Daughters & one of Boones carried off by the indians. Boon with 8 men pursued the indians & on 16 overtook them, killed 2 and recovred the girls.

Harrassed at various times thro the year on 15 ⟨May⟩ April 1777. The garrison was attackd by 100 Indians but repulsed them. Various attacks & harrassments, ⟨until⟩ The garrison was reenforced & the Indians being con-[*p. 83*]tinually worsted began to grow cautious.

1 Jany 1778 Went with a party of 30 men to Blue licks on Licking river to make salt.

7 Feby while hunting taken prisoner by the indians – capitulated for the whole of his party the Indians being too numerous to have any hope

Kindly treated by the indians who were very fond of Boone. carried him to Detroit, where the English Govr. wished to ransom him but they refused – English gentlemen offerd to supply Boones wants which he declined, adding that he never expectd to be able to recompense such unmerited generosity.

Indians left his men captives at Detroit & brought Boone to Chillicothe. He was adopted into an Indian family treated with great kindness & affection. conformed to their habits & spent his time as comfortably as he could expect & put on as cheerful as aspect as possible. The Shawanese King took great notice of him & treatd him with profound respect & entire friendship.

Continued at old Chilicothe until 1 June following then taken to Salt Springs of Sciota to make salt. on returning to Chilicothe found 450 Indians ⟨pai⟩ of the best warriors paintd & armd to go agst. Boonsborough – On the 16 before sunrise he made his escape and arrived at Boonsborough on the 20h. after a Journey of 160 miles during which he made but one meal.

Put the fortress in a state of repair and defense.

[*p. 84*]

⟨leaving scene on the banks of a river – placed persons boat gliding along – setting out[?] – at forts⟩

8 Aug. Boonsborough invested by 444 Indians commanded by Capt Duquesne a frenchman assisted by 11 other Frenchmen. They were summoned in name of his Brit. Majesty to surrend[er] –

require 2 days consideration. Granted –

Get in all they could of their horses and cattle and set the enemy at defiance. Various attempts by treachery – undermining &c to get possession of the fort, but the enemy at length were compelled to raise the siege

During Boones captivity his wife supposing him lost transported his family & goods on horses through the wilderness ⟨to her⟩ amid many dangers to her fathers house in NCarolina.

Shortly after the troubles of Boonsbourough Boone went after them, and brought them once more to ⟨Kentucky⟩ Boonsborough. ⟨att⟩ His expedition was attended with many difficulties & hardships.

On 6 Octr. 1780. went in company with his brother to the Blue licks – on their return home they were fired upon by the indians – His brother was killed & himself pursued by the scent of their dog 3 miles. Boon killed the dog & escaped

Harrassing warfare with the indians continued until in Aug 1782 The

nations of the Shawanese Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas Delawares & several others near Detroit [*p. 85*] united in war against the settlers & assembled their choicest warriors at Chillicothe. They were inflamed by two abandond men, Captain McKee & Girty. These men on 15 Aug. commandd a party of Indians & Canadians 500 in number against Briants station, 5 miles from Lexington. – attacked ↑the↓ garrison but were repulsed – killed the cattle around the fort, raised the siege & departed on the morning of the third day [–] loss of 30 killed.

18 [Aug.] Col Todd, Col Trigg, Mayor Harland & Boon collected 176 well armed men and pursued them. They had marched beyond the Bluelicks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River 43 miles from Lexington. overtook them on the 19th day.

Enemy took a strong position forming a line from one bend of the river to another

A Fierce battle. Boones party overpowrd by numbers & had to retreat 60 killed 7 taken prisoners. Col Todd Triggs & Maj Harland & Boons second son killed;

When they gave way the enemy pursued & spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross – many were killed in the flight some just entering the river some in the water others after crossing on ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot – The news overwhelmed Lexington with sorrow. Many widows were made.

Being reenforced Boone party returned to bury the dead. Horrible scene, some mangled by the savages, some torn by wild beasts[,] some [*p. 86*] eaten by fishes[,] all in so putrid a state that they could not be distinguished from each other.

Genl Clark then at the Falls of the Ohio orderd an expedition to pursue the savages – overtook them within 2 miles of their towns but were perceived by two indians who spread the alarm – the Indians fled, abandoned their towns & took refuge in the wilderness. The party of Settlers continud the pursuit thro 5 towns on the Miami River[:] Old Chilicothe – Pecaway, New Chilicothe, Willstown & Chilicothe – burnt them to ashes – destroyed corn & other fruits & desolated the country
⟨In October following a party of Indians⟩
This disheartend the indians & broke up their confederation but they continued to depredate[130]

In October following a party of Indians made an incursion into the

130. Irving originally skipped a paragraph but then decided to go back and briefly paraphrase that paragraph. The first two words of his paraphrase were apparently written after he had written and then deleted the beginning of a new paragraph, "In October . . . Indians," and were placed on the line above it, following the word "country." Compare Irving's one-sentence summary with this paragraph from Filson: "This campaign in some measure damped the spirit of the Indians, and made them sensible to our superiority. Their connections were dis-

district called Crab Orchard & one of them advancd before the others, enterd the house of a poor defenceless family in which was a negro man, a woman & her children. He attempted to seize the negro – the negro threw him – in the struggle the ⟨mother⟩ woman drew an axe from a corner of the cottage and cut off his head while her little daughter shut the door – The savages instantly appeard & applied their tomahawks to the door. An old rusty gun barrel without a lock lay in a corner which the mother put thro [*p.* 87] a small crevice & the savages perceiving it fled – In the mean time the alarm had spread thro' the neighbourhood – the armed men collected immediately & pursued the savages into the wilderness.

From that time until the return of peace with England the Indians did no further mischief

Boones reflection ⟨at the⟩

I can now say I have verified the saying of an old Indian who signed Col Hendersons deed. Taking me by the hands at the delivery thereof "Brother said he we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much much trouble in settling it."

My footsteps have often been marked with blood & therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name* Two darling sons & a Brother have I lost by savage hands which have also taken from me 40 valuable horses & abundance of cattle. Many dark & sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the cheerful society of men. Scorched by the summers sun & pinched by the winters cold, an instrument ⟨des⟩ ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: peace crowns the sylvan shade.[131]

[*p.* 88]

Kentucky –

A land of brooks of water, of fountains & depths that spring out of valleys & hills – a land of wheat & barley & all kinds of fruits. You shall eat bread without scarceness and not lack any thing in it. Where you are neither chilled with the cold of Capricorn nor scorched with the burning heat of Cancer – The mildness of the air is so great that you neither feel the effects of infectious fogs nor pestilential vapours[132] –

* Kentucky was called by the Indians the Bloody Ground.

solved, their armies scattered, and future invasions put entirely out of their power; yet they continued to practise mischief secretly upon the inhabitants, in the exposed parts of the country."

131. Filson, pp. 325–61. Irving added his own footnote at bottom of page, explaining the Indians' designation of Kentucky.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

Indians

⟨The⟩
The Shawanese – Cherokees, Wyandots &e are little eoneerned about religion – others eontinue their superstitious worship of good & bad spirits.

They have their festivals and other rejoieings on whieh they sing & danee in a ring taking hands, having so painted & disguised themselves that it is diffieult to know them – & after enjoying this diversion for a while they retire to the plaee where they have prepared a feast of fish[,] flesh, fowls & fruits—to whieh they are invited & entertaind by their eountry songs They believe that there is great virtue in feasts for the siek. For this purpose a young Buek must be killed & boild & the nearest friends & neighbors of the patient invited & having first thrown tobaeeo on the [*p.* 89] fire they eover it up elose & all sit down in a ring & raise a lamentable ery. They then uneover the fire & kindle it up: and the head of the buek is first sent about[,] every one taking a bit & giving a loud eroak in imitation of erows. They afterwards proeeed to eat all the buek, making a most harmonious melaneholy song, in whieh strain their music is partieularly exeellent.

As they approaeh their towns when some of their people are lost in war they make great lamentations for their dead & bear them long in remembranee.[133]

They are of a middle stature, their limbs elean & straight – they shave their heads exeept a pateh about the erown whieh is ornamented with beautiful feathers, beads, wampum & sueh like baubles[134] –

Indian Fortifications

In the neighbourhood of Lexington the remains of two aneient fortifieations are to be seen furnished with ditehes & bastions. One of them eontains about 6 Aeres the other 3. ⟨pei⟩ overgrown with large trees –

pieees of earthenware ⟨found⟩ plowed up near Lexington. a manufaeture with whieh the Indians were never aequaintd.[135]

Near Lexington are eurious sepulehres full of human skeletons. First on the ground are laid large broad stones – then bodies separated from each other by broad stones – eoverd with other stones which serve for the basis of the next arrangt. of bodies. In this way they are built without mortar growing narrower to the height of a man – a mode of burying totally difft. from any now praetised by ye Indian.[136]

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 386–88.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 381.
135. *Ibid.*, pp. 379–80.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–306.

NOTEBOOK 1818, NUMBER 1

This manuscript notebook, kept in England, is No. 4 of the Seligman Collection in the New York Public Library. It is a small brown leather notebook, 2¾ × 3¾ inches, with hard covers and a single brass clasp. On the outside cover "about 1818" is written in ink.

[*Sketch of man's head on inside front cover*]

[*p. [1]*]
Conway Castle
The Mwd
Bathgalert
Chepstow
Tintern Abbey[1]
Stratford on Avon[2]
Dove Dale[3]
Warwick[4]
Angelina near Genoa[5]
Gersau Lake of Lucerne[6]
Bivouac: Lake Chaplaine
Squadron. Lake Ontario
Excursion thro' Highlands Hudson river[7] –

1. These are place-names that Irving recorded; they are discussed in detail in his "Tour in Wales 1815." Some spellings are incorrect here, "Bathgalert" for Beddgelert." See pp. 43–51.

2. Irving's first visit to Stratford is recorded in the Church Albums in the library at Shakespeare's birthplace, July 25, 1815. See STW, I, 419, n. 25.

3. Dovedale is a picturesque limestone valley in Derbyshire. The Dove was the favorite fishing-stream of Izaac Walton.

4. Irving visited Kenilworth, Warwick, and Stratford on his tour with James Renwick in July, 1815. See his letter to Mrs. Jean Renwick, dated Birmingham, July 27, 1815 (*Letters*, I, 403–11).

5. Angelina, a pretty peasant girl, who served as a guide when Irving visited Genoa, November 13, 1804. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 125–26; also "Notebook 1817," p. 164.

6. Gersau, a village on Lake Lucerne, was visited by Irving May 10, 1805. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 382–83. Irving described the churchyard of Gersau in "Rural Funerals," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 210–11).

7. Irving often recalled his extensive travels in New York and Ontario and compared his native scenes with the European landscape. While at Lago di Maggiore

[*p. [2]*]
character of A——s[8] not to be taken from the population of the cities, motley congregations – copyists of E——[9] style –

False points of honour in it

Mistaken notions respecting England – Prejudices agst it in this country our only chance for character must arise from self dependance – Attentions lavished on E—— men produces no grateful feelings.[10]

Robustness of English habits customs & minds – less sensibility among the many to what is graceful & beautiful. Fond of order, neatness, cleanliness – [*p. [3]*] absence of enthusiasm – not very excitable – ⟨almost⟩ no poetical character[11]

English Country Churches.[12]

Scotch party where young scotch girl sings Lang syne

The past is beyond our control [–] the present is often out of our control but the future is completely under the dominion of our fancy & he is a fool who does not fashion it into a perfect eldorado

[*p. [4]*]
Young poet – passed greater part of his time in reveries & delightful meditations – contrast this with his mingling with the world.[13]

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in 1805 Irving recorded "certain views of this lake that brought strongly to my mind the character of the mountainous part of Lake Champlain in the state of New York" (*Journals and Notebooks*, I, 357).

8. Americans.

9. English.

10. Irving in the essay, "English Writers on America," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 77–89).

11. Almost identical comments appear in "Tour in Scotland 1817," p. 152.

12. Irving wrote an essay, "The Country Church," published in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 140–47). The entries "Conway . . . churches" are written in ink.

13. Such ideas find expression in "The Author's Account of Himself" and in "English Writers on America," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 77–89).

Jones story of the man inquiring after his friends wife –

How close we draw to our friends in misfortune – Nothing in the pleasures of prosperity can equal those fond leanings of the heart on a friend in distress

[*p. [5]*]
Light tales in the manner of Wieland[14]

Village literati.
Pale young man drinks tea & talks loud like Johnson
Student that has written a poem

[*p. [6]*]
Hopelessly going down to the struggle the neglect & obscurity of Indigence – Giving answer thro which I send to ⟨for⟩ prosperity & joy approaching I ⟨*unrecovered*⟩ look out on poverty & Sorrow

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Softly tinted style – golden thread of thought camelion shades of beautiful imagination
Gems of thought

[*p. [7]*]
Commerce a game where the merchant is one party & ruin the other – The chances 5 to 2 agst the former as he plays his game adventureously & loosely & overlooks many opportunities whereas the latter never suffers the smallest chances to ⟨imp⟩ pass unimproved[15]

long picture gallery ⟨of⟩ at Chirk Castle in Wales.[16]

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14. Irving's interest in the prolific and popular German writer Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) was aroused when he prefaced the biographical sketch for the American edition of *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (Philadelphia, 1810). In his "Notebook of 1810" Irving had quoted from Campbell's letters the enthusiastic utterance, "I cannot conceive a more perfect Poet than their favourite Wieland," a sentence that Irving eliminated in his revised biographical essay "Thomas Campbell." See *Works*, XVII, 150–51 and "Notebook of 1810," p. 13.

15. Typical comment of Irving's mood of despair after the failure of the firm of P. and E. Irving at Liverpool.

16. Chirk Castle in the village of Chirk, near the left bank of the Ceiroq, in dcker "the interior contains oak-carvings, family-portraits, and an ebony eabinet . . . the interior of whieh is adorned with silver plaques and a series of exquisitely the interior of which is adorned with silver plaques and a series of exquisitely

Dark innocuous picture of the delights of a rambling life[17]

[*p. [8]*]
[*faint sketch of a tree*]

[*p. [9]*]
⟨[*unrecovered*]⟩
Country school house a rude building of ⟨pine⟩ logs – green field – house shelterd by trees – a wild brook running close by – Virginia Negro going to market with the Pig –

[*p. [10]*]
In Kalm (*vol. II*)[18]
Leapings of Sturgeon in the Hudson
Indians & Dutch harpooning them at night by torch lights Indian Wigwam – 4 perpendicular posts with crotches. Bark put over them – Beds of Deerskins – furniture 2 Kettles – 2 ladles – Buckets of Bark. Indians use no chairs but sit on the ground.

Dress of women short blue petticoat with border of red & other ribbands – large ear rings [–] hair tied behind & wrappd in ribbands – Strings of wampum around their necks[19]

[*p. [11]*]
⟨Vines⟩ Wild vines covering the hills along the rivers – Climbing to the tops of trees which bend down with their weight – loaded with grapes[20]

Trees along the Hudson above Albany – Red maple [–] water Beech: Wild prune tree [–] Sumach [–] Elm – Willow – Aspen[21]

Stream very rapid in some places – slow in others – rocks projecting in to the water which was deep in such places – rocks – gray Quartz &

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coloured paintings on copper, ascribed to Rubens." Irving probably visited it on his excursion to Llangollen. See "Tour in Wales," entry for August 9, 1815.

17. The entries "long . . . life" are upside down at the bottom of the page in ink.

18. Irving began to copy or to summarize passages from *Travels into North America* . . . published between 1753–1761 by the Swedish scientist, Peter Kalm (1715–1761), who traveled in North America 1748–1751. Irving's jottings have been identified in the English translation by John Reinhold Forster (London, 1770–1771.)

19. *Ibid.*, II, 278–81.

20. *Ibid.*, II, 248. In part also in "Extracts from Travels 1817." See pp. 236–37.

21. *Ibid.*, II, 250–51, but the willow and aspen are not mentioned.

gray Limestone – water of the [*p. [12]*] river very clear & transparent – several little paths leading to it from the woods said to be made by animals coming to drink. Come to a place where a fire is still burning, left by some Indians – whom they had tracked all day thro the trodden grass[22] –

At night hear trees crack & fall ⟨whilst th⟩ tho the air was so calm that not a leaf was stirring – loosend probably by rains & ⟨brook⟩ rivulets – & bent by winds – dangerous walkg in the woods in gales – Refreshing effects of trees in the woods.[23]

[*p. [13]*]
"Indications of losing ones way – trees lying across the river shewed no one had been that way for some time"[24]

Odoriferous effluvia towards night from the banks of the river but could not tell from what flowers

At night dared not make a fire on the island where they slept for fear of the Indians. Heard the dogs of the latter barking in the woods[25]

[*p. [14]*]
Gusts of rain in the Summer [–] previous stillness of the atmosphere – flies buzzing & humming [–] swallows playing high in the air – Black clouds suddenly appear – rushing sound of wind at a distance – bending the forest trees – large drops pattering on the advance – deluge of rain – Thunder – passed off & leaves every thing tranquil & cool.[26]

[*p. [15]*]
May 28 Magnolia glauca in full bloom – flowers have a refreshing fragrance in the woods especially towards evening – flowers of the wild wine & other flowers perfume the air

Dwarf Laurel decorating sandy heaths with its purple flowers – poisonous to sheep[27] –
May 2d. Near Phila. The Dogwood in blossom makes [*p. [16]*] the woods gay & beautiful[28]

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22. *Ibid.*, II, 309–11.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 312–13.
24. *Ibid.*, II, 316.
25. *Ibid.*, II, 317.
26. *Ibid.*, II, 214 paraphrased and condensed.
27. *Ibid.*, II, 214–15. The passage "May 28 . . . flowers—" is almost verbatim also in "Extracts from Travels 1817." See p. 236.
28. Though dated May 2, the descriptive phrases follow on separate, successive pages. *Ibid.*, II, 163–65.

May 5. May flowers of Wild Honey suckles – some of a dark & others of a lively red – *Pinxter bloem* – gatherd & put into pots by the people[29]

Frogs – begin about April [–] croak most at night.[30]
Race between a Bullfrog & an indian The Bull frog having his bottom burnt and two leaps [*p. [17]*] before hand & beat the Indian & got safe to the pond[31] –
The

[*p. [18]*]
Indian names – [*unrecovered*] substituted by the variety of settlers &c &c[32]
Bracebridge
Dudlap
Digby

[*p. [19]*]
[*faint sketch of trees and of cottage*]

Albany gate chapter[33]

[*p. [20] torn out*]

[*p. [21]*]
Notices of Female authors of England
Magazin Encyclopedique
vol. 3. 1807[34]
Edward was lord of this towne & patron of this church – vicarage also Lord of Duddenton & [*unrecovered*] & of divers other lands within this parish.[35]

[*p. [22]*]
⟨Star⟩
⟨hea⟩

29. *Ibid.*, II, 169–70.
30. *Ibid.*, II, 171.
31. *Ibid.*, II, 173.
32. Unidentified.
33. Scribbled along left margin on a torn page with an unfinished sketch.
34. The *Magazin encyclopédique; ou, Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts* (Paris, 1792–1793; n.s. 1795–1816). The periodical is not available to the editors.
35. A desultory notation completely out of context and apparently crossed out with wavy line.

Heavens Star Spangled canopy
Milton[36] –
Dunsters instances of similarity between ⟨Milton⟩ passages of Milton & Sylvesters Du Bartas – a ⟨work of⟩ Scripture poem[37]

[*p. [23]*]
[*sketch of towered castle scratched out with pencil*]

[*p. [24]*]
man in the Stocks.
They could not put you in the stocks
But they ⟨could⟩ did put me in
But they could not do it legally
But I tell you I may put you
well then it was not legal.

[*p. [25]*]
Creightons mode of viewing things – considerd it a ⟨duty⟩ travellers duty & complied – exclaimed – oh bien joli well – what next –

Irish lad of 14 who begged for money to buy paper pens &c. meant to try till 21 then go to ⟨Ame⟩ America & set up to have master

[*p. [26]*]
Preston's description of his feelings on being alone in the wilderness looking down from a hieght – Deep glen torrents tumbling down precipices only heard. ⟨by⟩

Praries – herd of elk bounding from out the forest leaping along the praries until they looked in the distance like rabbits.

---

36. Milton's lines, "With thousand thousand Starres, that then appeer'd/ Spangling the Hemisphere," in *Paradise Lost* (bk. 7, lines 383–84) were influenced by Josuah Sylvester's translation of *Du Bartas His Divine Weekes and Workes*, first published completely in 1608, where in "The Second Day of the First Weeke" the line "Above the Heav'ns' Star-spangled Canopy" occurs. See Josuah Sylvester, *The Complete Works*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (1880; Hildesheim, 1969), I, 36, line 1172.

37. Charles Dunster, *Considerations on Milton's Early Reading, and the Prima Stamina of his Paradise Lost* . . . (London, 1800). Dunster first pointed out many similarities between Du Bartas and Milton. For a detailed study of this relationship see George C. Taylor, *Milton's Use of Du Bartas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934). Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine; ou Creation du monde* was published beginning in 1578, and Sylvester's translation, first appearing in 1608, was widely read.

Encampment on the edge of a prarie – with his servant [*p. [27]*] made a fire – ⟨removed⟩ walked to a distance ⟨on the⟩ from the fire & sat down on a tree that had fallen into the prarie – two or three deer leaping over the tree between him & the fire seemingly not fearful –

It struck him with awe – he could have wished them to be frightened – It made him feel how far he was from the habitations of the men in what a solitude where even the animals of the forest did not fear him[38]

[*p. [28]*]
Judge Coulter was sent to hold a court for the first time in one of the counties of Virginia. All the population man woman & child turned out to see what a court was [–] tried to summon a Jury [–] many were challenged. told sheriff to summon bystanders by touching them on the shoulder &c they all took to their heels. Judge waited a long [*p. [29]*] time & sent after sherif. Word brought him that two were summoned & that he was in full chase of a third thro the peach orchard & expected to catch him as he was a fast runner – on being brought into court & proving contumacious Judge Coulter orderd him to be imprisoned. he replied* I tell you what Judge Coulther by God you ⟨drive⟩ ↑set↓ your coulter too deep for a new soil

[*p. [30]*]
The Judge was so well pleased that he let him off[39] –*

Boones first view of Kentucky from the Cumberland hills – noble forests with buffalos Clover underneath like park lands[40]

---

*Judge Coulther Inn a Horse shelter – Here Constable put this horse in yonder stone stable – Well, I'll go out

---

38. Irving made a brief excursion to Runcorn and into Wales and a longer Tour in Scotland with a fellow American, William C. Preston, in 1817, and recorded numerous descriptions and anecdotes of Preston's travels in the South. See "Tour in Scotland 1817," pp. 146, 154–56.

39. Probably further anecdotes of Preston's. The asterisks are Irving's, and the sequence of the text is interrupted by the note about Boone's first view of Kentucky.

40. Irving had read avidly about Daniel Boone and his adventures. He apparently knew John Filson's *The Discovery, Purchase and Settlement of Kentucke* (1784), which made use of Boone's account. Filson's work was included in the 1793 and 1797 editions of Gilbert Imlay's *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*. Byron's tribute to Boone in *Don Juan*, canto 8, made him

[*p. [31]*]
Huge trees on the Missouri chained down by enormous grape vines –
⟨The⟩ Vegetable Boa Constrictor
Coy little valley that retreated among mountains

The two neighbors – one whom nothing could content – the other who could find a consolation in every calamity[41]

[*p. [32]*]
Go to the Camp –
Camp Scenes
In the Winter go to Washington
⟨See the pres⟩ description of this place – My anticipations from the place
See the President. ⟨Am also⟩
At the Levee –
My expectation of seeing a great man. my surprize at finding him a small one – talk with him – declaim – advise[42] –
– Hall of Congress.
My conversation with Glencoe[43] what I would do if president

---

Go to Phila.[44]
Flirt with a dashi[n]g woman [–] nearly drive over a carriage

shouts from within – twas Rosy[45]
When I leave the president I pronounce him a most agreeable man in

---

a world celebrity. Irving copied an account of Boone's exploration from Filson in "Extracts from Travels 1817." See pp. 239–53.

Daniel Boone and his companions set out from North Carolina on May 1, 1769, and after crossing the Cumberland Gap "from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucke" (*Filson's Kentucke*, ed. W. R. Jillson [Louisville, 1929], p. 51).

41. This passage is upside down at bottom of page.

42. Memories of Irving's visit to Washington in 1811, when he was received by Mrs. Madison and also met the president. For details see Irving's letters of January 13 and February 7, 1811, to Brevoort in *Letters*, I, 295–98, 300–302.

43. Irving used the name in his narrative included in the "Tour of Scotland."

44. Irving was also in Philadelphia in 1811. See his letters of March 16, 18, and April 11, 1811, to Brevoort in *Letters*, I, 310, 312, 314.

45. Further references to Rosy or Rosalie, included in attempts at a longer narrative, can be found in the manuscript "Tour in Scotland." See pp. 119–27.

conversation – what did he say – when I came to reccollect I had talked entirely myself[46]

[*p. [33]*]
hear afterwards that the president pronounced me a promising young man but that I talkd too much
as irretrievable as a lost jewel[47]

[*p. [34]*]
In my last reflection – when I think of becoming a statesman – I claim both my experience & knowledge of the world

---

Sets out with Glencoe to make a tour of the U.S. letters to Washington &c – These Speculations from the Cumberland Hills – ⟨Most⟩ hear of the members of Virginia – [*unrecovered*] – shake off for the Army

[*p. [35]*]
Congress Hall – readers of newspapers –

Randolphs Eloquence[48]

I am now treading on dangerous ground – I am aware that the opinions of a Phila like myself will have their we[i]ght – I am determined to be neutral

---

⟨Secretary of the navy – who is there seen⟩

[*p. [36]*]
Pierce – Beverly Ludlow
Pendergrast

Montgomery – Brooke

Boones adventures[49]

---

46. Half of leaf torn out.

47. The phrase is upside down at bottom of page.

48. John Randolph (1773–1833) of Roanoke, American statesman and orator, was a bitter opponent of James Madison and the War of 1812. Irving knew him and admired his eloquence.

49. Daniel Boone's account, incorporated in Filson's work on Kentucky as an appendix, was entitled "The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon."

Indian Superstitions

Her spirit seemd still lingering on her lips as if it might yet be called back – is it pique that one moment since she would have known me & him who created life & now she is a cloud –

[*p. [37]*]
he had made no paltry compromise with pride but had won over [?] well memory[?]

---

to abridge this pittance of miserable existance which forever might order[?] old age changes

---

purple glory that flashes round yon mountain pinnacle

[*p. [38]*]
Small country church at foot of a hill overlooked by a large family mansion which seemed to have taken the church under its protection – ⟨rich cit who seemed disposed to⟩ looked down upon it with a protecting eye – Rich cit: who seemed disposed to patronize his maker.

---

tower with 4 small turrets with weather cocks. one told the ⟨way⟩ point the wind blew from and the others the points it did not blow from.

---

person who lost 200 £ ⟨cousin⟩ for a long time retrenched small points of expense – ultimately saved 4 times the amount – Delana[?] & his horse. 200£ viz

[*p. [39]*]
I lookd round upon the engagem Ye have all luxurious homes to return to – domestics to view – friends to embrace – relatives to cherish you – you ⟨are to have it in a⟩ the fire side blazes for ye the banquet is prepared – but ⟨could you change it all⟩ your youth is ruined with fear[?] but could you rising then[?] from ruin[?] but return to an empty home no blazing hearth – no door thrown open to receive [?] – no voice of affection to hail her –

---

outlived every thing but the hopes of heaven[50]

50. These random jottings may reflect Irving's melancholy moods of introspection. The handwriting is unusually indistinct.

[*p. [40]*]
spring on the battlements of the thunder cloud and dawn dances in sheeted[?] lightning
You may cherish a man for twenty years – and yet kill him with a single stab –

A thousand kind deeds may not be able to make a man happy but with one stab you may destroy him[51]

[*p. [41]*]
Christmas eve on our way to Birmingham – stop at Lichfield[52] – bright moonlight night but excessive cold – Swan Inn at Lichfield – drive up to the door – ⟨look thro Kitchen Thro the window we look into the⟩ Kitchen fire beaming thro the window – spacious kitchen hung round with copper & tin vessels highly polished. flitches of Bacon hams &c – Large ⟨Copper⟩ lamp suspended from the cieling in the centre – long table of oak very clean. with cold beef [*p. [42]*] &c standing on it – travellers of inferior order thronging round the spacious fire place. trim, bright-faced servant maids, hurrying backwards & forwards – ⟨fresh⟩ bust[l]ing, fresh looking, landlady giving orders –

[*p. [43]*]
I dreamt that night that I was an angel – I soard into the air. I became soveregn of 13 states – I turned[?] to the man in the moon I awoke the next morng & determind to become a statesman

[*p. [44] blank*]

[*p. [45]*]
Old womans son casts an anxious eye to his mother – villager tells him he will take care of her[53]

[*p.[46]*]

If service be thy means to thrive
  Thou must therein remaine
Both silent faithful just & true
  Content to take some paine
If love of virtue may allure
  or hope of worldly gaine

51. The passage "spring . . . him" is upside down.

52. Irving stopped repeatedly at Lichfield, the cathedral town where Samuel Johnson was born, situated sixteen miles north of Birmingham.

53. Irving continued his entries beginning at the back and continuing toward the middle of the notebook. The editors have supplied pagination as if consecutive.

If fear of God may thee procure
To serve doe not disdain

Aston Hall[54] – Servants hall – chequerd stone part – colourd glass windows [–] Picture of Roman Knights [–] Oak Stair case – marks where Oliver Cromwells balls came thro[55]

[*p. [47]*]

In the morning I began my visit –

passage in Tasso [–] you read it in the original verse with great research[?] tho its nothing in the translation

My pride cast down that [*three unrecovered words*] fondly[?] then aware of her hearth warms then himself – thank heaven she knows nothing of Philosophy

---

What a heart is here runn[i]ng to wait – how sadly this poor girl has been neglected – ⟨how⟩ what a pitty that so tender a heart should know nothing of poetry

---

When she quoted I stared

[*p. [48]*]

Aston Hall

Gateway to the park Lion head Knockers – Studded nails [–] squirrel on top of Gateway – gateway & porters lodge shelterd under trees – firs &c ⟨trees wood⟩ leafless – church spire rising above – Standing in strong relief in the clear cold wintry atmosphere – grass ⟨fr⟩ coverd with frost [–] sun glancing along & showing the slopes of banks –

Deer feeding

Chapel – gallery with red velvet seats &c for family. Old oak gallery of great extent – fretted ceiling vast marble fire place oak floor – bow windows State bed chamber with grotesque figures round the cornice of Brass – crooked ells – Dining room cieling fretted – grotesque faces – figures of Knights in armour with banners – beads &c

54. Aston Hall, a fine old Jacobean mansion in Aston Park to the northeast of Birmingham, provided Irving with some of the atmosphere and setting for his *Bracebridge Hall* manor. These notes were made in 1818, but three years later Irving added ornamental details, gleaned from his visit to Haddon Hall, to finish his manuscript.

55. "balls . . . through" is written at the top of p. [45]. Now Irving's beginning from the back of the notebook makes this phrase a continuation of his entry on p. [46].

[*p. [49]*]
You sought my friends You found in coming over a little spark of comfort & you inhumanly trampld it out[56]

[*p. [50] blank*]

[*p. [51]*]

Full little knowest thou that hast not tried
What hell it is in suing long to bide
To lose good days that might be better spent.
To waste long nights in feverish discontent
To speed today, to be put back tomorrow
To feed on hope to pine with fear & sorrow
To fret thy soul with crosses & with cares
To eat thy heart thro comfortless despairs
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.
Spencer[57]

[*pp. [52–53] blank*]

[*p. [54]*]
Old Statues round the Drawing room –

[*p. [55]*]
Person in dissipatd life has not time to converse with himself & enquire into the state of his mind. In the crowd in which he is issolatd he can not tell withall it is the beating of his own heart or another

---

Adages Madam Doe[?]

Talks of our Gentry –
Has found vast quantity of books bottles in our cellar [–] places them in the bottom of the pack –

---

56. The passage "You . . . out" was apparently crossed out with vertical lines by Irving.

57. Edmund Spenser's satire, *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591). In modernized spelling and with inadequate punctuation Irving copied lines 895–900 and 903–906 carefully but the standard text has "pensive" for "feverish" in line 898. The extract is written in ink.

⟨Lad⟩ Old Lady laughs heartily at speeches of the young officers –

Family pictures – on Armoire &c Cats picture[58] –
Old age, when a few steps is a pilgrimage – young

[*p. [56]*]
When young[?] I was a ⟨tearful⟩ ↑[*unrecovered*]↓ child – my sensibilities were quick – I was easily moved to pity and tears by a tale of distress. ⟨They took gt delight⟩ so my parents & friends boastd of my sensibility and delightd to play upon it – a morbid feeling producd

---

I dreamt ⟨of⟩ that I was once more in my native home [–] every thing around me looked as in my happier days. ⟨My⟩ ↑the↓ mother that had so fondly cherished my childhood was hanging over me with looks of fondness – I awoke – ⟨lonely⟩ in a strange land – poor ⟨solitary⟩ sick – solitary – desolate

[*p. [57] blank*]

[*p. [58]*]
out beauty[?] under the skin of a fading rose

I was so apt to meet with equivocal smiles
I seldom smild myself I was too much in earnest to smile.

⟨cold air⟩
chill damp air like the breathings of the tomb or breath of Sepulchres –

[*p. [59]*]
Rosy had all the little Caprices of the Sex

A mother who still bore the traces of beauty – ⟨thogh⟩ with a daughter very young sheltring under her favor She looked the fading rose sheltring the soft blushes of the opening bud
like a half blown bud at first [*unrecovered*] just bursts

[*p. [60]*]
Rx Calomel ⟨ppt⟩ʒi
Pit Aloe ʒii
MXV. Rit[59]

58. "Adages . . . picture—" is written in ink.

59. A prescription written in ink, for one dram of calomel, two drams of powdered aloe. Makes fifteen powders.

[*p. [61]*]
Walk along the Dee past Iron Bridge to Eckleston & Eton Church [–] from Lord Grosvenors down the Lawn to the church that passes L[or]d Grosvenors ½ past one[60] –
Gressford Church & vale a few miles before coming to Wrexham[61] –

From Wrexham to Ruabon ⟨present⟩ Seat of Watkin Wyn[62] Ask to see Nanby better[?] from thence to Langothellon[63]

[*p. [62]*]
It is one of the faculties of genius to seize on its own proper aliments. ⟨as it⟩ It is in vain to attempt to educate & train up an ordinary mind to the high achievements of genius. You may make a man of Erudition – a philosopher – a man of Science – but you cannot make a poet – heaven alone bestows imagination –

The human mind is like the ⟨noxious⟩ peculiar[?] altar on which every precious material and combustible ingredient might be bestowed – but the flame that was to touch ⟨them⟩ could only come from heaven[64]

[*p. [63]*]
The effect of that great passion for universal knowledge which prevails at the present day, to make people Scientists. We find infinitely more writers at the present day than formerly but not more great geniuses: – Men write books of criticism – Biography &c – They – gossip in print about other books & other writers ⟨its⟩ There is one original work appears & a hundred follow that talk about it. ⟨As an instance may be cited⟩ V

[*p. [64] drawing of a Dutch windmill*]

60. Apparently notes of Irving's excursion into Wales. Eaton Hall situated on the Dee, about three miles south of Chester, was the seat of Sir Robert, second earl of Grosvenor (1767–1845) of ancient Norman lineage, created marquess of Westminster in 1831. Eccleston is about a mile and a half from Eaton Hall. Irving wrote the word "church" directly under "Eckleston."

61. Gresford, about three miles from Wrexham, has a fine church.

62. Wrexham has outside its handsome church (1472) the tomb of Elihu Yale (1648–1721), for whom Yale University is named. Sir Watkin Wynn (1772–1840), fifth baronet, descendant of one of the oldest families in Wales resided at Wynnstay at Ruabon, five miles from Wrexham.

63. The pronunciation "Thlangóthlen" may have influenced Irving's spelling of Llangollen, the town made famous by the "Ladies of Llangollen." See Irving's entry for August 9, 1818, in the "Tour of Wales 1815," p. 46 and n. 25, when he traveled with James Renwick. He returned with William C. Preston in 1817.

64. Irving's speculative comments, written in ink.

[*p. [65]*]

This skillful might gave many sparks of bliss.
And, to discern this bliss a native light,
To frame Gods image as his worth required
His might, his skill, his word and will conspired.[65]

where once
Thou calldst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still vexed Bermoothes[66]

Rosy[67]

[*p. [66]*]

Look Home

By Robert Southwell. 1650

Retired thoughts enjoy their own delights
As beauty doth in self-beholding eye:
Mans mind a mirror is of heavenly sights;
A brief wherein all miracles summoned lie;
Of fairest forms, & sweetest shapes the store,
Most graceful all, yet thought may grace them more.

The mind a creature is, yet can create,
To nature's patterns adding higher skill
Of finest works; wit better could the state,
If force of wit had equal power of will:
Devise of man in working hath no end;
What thought can think another thought can mend.

Mans soul of endless beauties image is
Drawn by the work of endless skill & might:[68]

65. An unidentified quotation, written in ink.

66. *The Tempest*, I, ii, 227–29.

67. Rosy or Rosalie, a character in Irving's narrative in the manuscript "Tour in Scotland."

68. The first fourteen lines of the twenty-four line poem "Look Home," by Robert Southwell (1561–1595), are written in ink. Editions vary in the degree of modernized spelling, but William B. Turnbull's *The Poetical Works of the Rev. Robert Southwell* (London, 1856), based on the 1634 edition, approximates Irving's text. Aside from differences in punctuation only the word "miracles" in line 4 seems incorrect. The original manuscript has "marvailes," which in modern editions becomes "marvels."

[*p. [67]*]
Dekker

I am not enamour'd of this painted idol
This strumpet world; for her most beauteous looks
Are poison'd baits hung upon golden hooks
When fools do swim in wealth her Cynthian beams
Will wantonly dance on the silver streams
But when this squinteyed age sees virtue poor
And by a little spark sit shivering
Begging of all, relieved at no mans door
She smiles on her as the sun smiles on fire
to kill that little heat[69]

[*p. [68]*]
From Thos Carew

S: See love the blushes of the morne appeare
And now she hangs her pearly store
(Robb'd from the Eastern shore)
I'th' Cowslips bell and Roses rare:
Sweet I must stay no longer here.[70]

[*inside cover*]
Manufacturer to His
Rl. Highness the
Prince Regent
LIVERMORE'S
late Hall & Cos.
much approved
velvet paper
Memorandum Books
with
Metallic Pencils

69. Thomas Dekker's *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, performed at court, December 27, 1599, and printed in London, 1600. Irving probably copied from *Old English Plays . . .*, ed. C. W. Dilke (London, 1814), III, 123. The standard edition, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1953), I, 127–28, places the passage at I, ii, 49–58. Irving follows Dilke's spelling and his text. The standard text reads "sits" in line 55, "at" for "of" in line 56, but Irving repeats "smiles" in line 57, where Dilke and Bowers give "shines on fire."

70. The second of the seven stanzas of "A Pastorall Dialogue" by Thomas Carew (1595?–1639?). *Poems of Thomas Carew*, first published in 1640, are available in an edition by Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford, 1949). The "S" in line 1 is Irving's abbreviation for shepherd, the speaker.

exquisite always made Rosy smile
G B Frage Bookbinder
E. Park Street, Red Bank
Manchester.[71]

Modern
⟨Askalon – Askalon⟩

[2 *doodles*]

71. Inside of back cover has dealer's label, a Manchester address, and some random jottings.



Figure 5. Sketch of windmill, mentioned on page 68 of "Notebook 1818. Number 1."

NOTEBOOK 1818, NUMBER 2

This manuscript notebook, 4¾ × 3¾ inches and bound in red leather, is in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library, No. 5 of the Seligman Collection. It consists of 76 leaves and contains excerpts, anecdotes, plots, etc. The entries are almost entirely in pencil, some badly rubbed and almost illegible.

[p. [1]]

⟨Jno Hamilton⟩ 2/6
⟨23 Bury St⟩
St James.

Wagener C. G. Die Gespenster
Launs Erzalungen 7/ –
Lafontaine Kleine Romane[1]
Dibdins Music Epitomized[2]
Great & good deeds of the Danes Norwegians & Holsteinians
by Ove Malling[3]
Nicholsons Journal 1797[4]
Acct of Singlr appearance at presque Isle. Lake Erie – Fata Morgana &c[5]

1. Irving was studying German and jotting down book titles. In a letter, dated May 19, 1818, to Brevoort, Irving wrote: "I have been some time past engaged in the study of the German Language, and have got on so far as to be able to read and *splutter* a little" (*Letters*, I, 526). Samuel Christoph Wagener, *Die Gespenster. Kurze Erzählungen aus dem Reich der Wahrheit* (1797; 3d ed., Berlin, 1800). F. Laun (pseudonym for Friedrich August Schulze), *Kleine Erzählungen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1814–1815); August Heinrich Lafontaine (pseudonym for Miltenberg and Freier), *Kleine Romane und moralische Erzählungen*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1799).

2. Charles Dibdin (1745–1814), dramatist and song writer, published *Questions in Mr. Dibdin's Lectures* (London, 1804). Further editions, six by 1818, bear the title *Music epitomized: a school book; in which the whole science of music is completely explained. . . .*

3. Ove Malling's *Great and Good Deeds of Danes, Norwegians and Holsteinians*, trans. J. A. Anderson (London, 1807).

4. William Nicholson, *A Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and the Arts . . .*, 5 vols. (London, 1792–1802). A new series appeared in 1802–1813, when it was incorporated with the *Philosophical Magazine*.

5. An unidentified reference to what may not have been a published account.

[*p. [2]*]

Why we do moralize over the ruins of towers & towns –
He who has seen a noble mind go to ruin has beheld ⟨the greatest⟩ one of the most awful of desolations
The temple of intellect

Mad man beneath the ruins of a tower – Mugso

Biglands essays[6] –
Secrets of Invisible world
disclosed – And[re]w Morton
1738[7]
Aubreys Miscellanies ↑– on Day Fatality↓[8]
Burthogge on reason & Spirits[9]

[*p. [3]*]

Old crown of hat without rim purple plush vest tarnished old leather breeches that reach below calves of the legs – worsted stockings & land shoes

[*sketch of man's head with brimless cap*]

eldest born of the family of Republicans

[*p. [4]*]

Scene at the convent – Syracuse[10]
Chapel where we slept
Inn where the bed was bloody
Baron Palmerias Maggari[11]

6. John Bigland (1750–1832), schoolmaster and author of many histories, covered the period of George III for Goldsmith's *History of England*. His *Essays on Various Subjects*, 2 vols. (Doncaster, 1805), appeared in a second edition (London, 1811).

7. *The Secrets of the Invisible World laid open, or an universal history of Apparitions, sacred and prophane . . .* (London, 1770). No earlier edition nor any editor can be identified. The running title is also given as "The History and Reality of Apparitions."

8. *Miscellanies . . . collected by John Aubrey* (London, 1696). The first chapter bears the title "Day-Fatality: Or, Some Observations of Days Lucky and Unlucky."

9. Richard Burthogge, *An Essay upon Reason, and the Nature of Spirits* (London, 1694).

10. Irving had visited Syracuse, February 8, 1805. He makes further observations on this convent a few lines below and later in this notebook. See p. 296 and n. 78.

11. Possibly Baron Nicolò Palmieri di Miccichè of an old Sicilian family, whom Irving met February 23, 1805, and whom he mentions again in entry for August 19, 1823. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 215; III, 214.

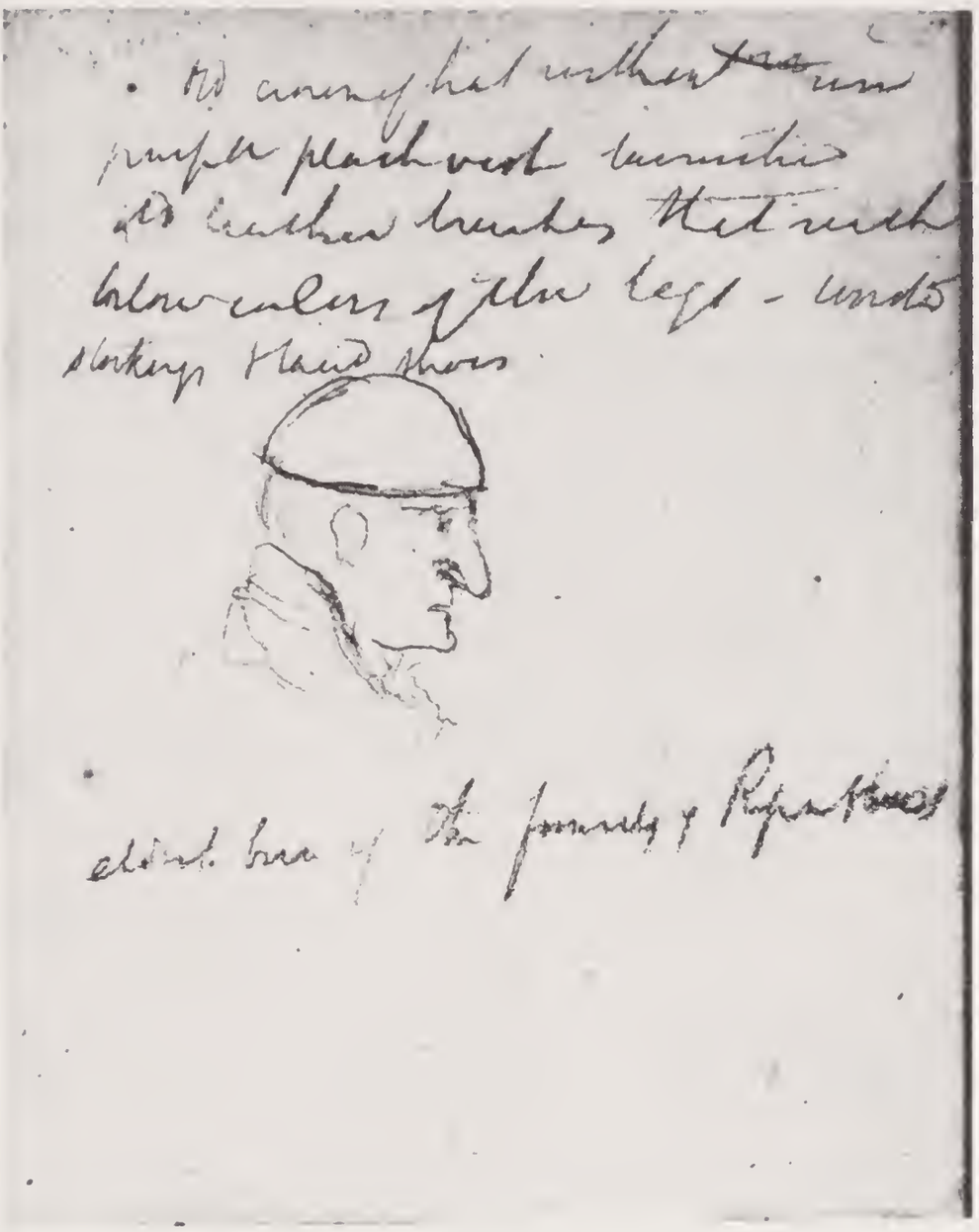


Figure 6. Sketch of man's head with brimless cap appearing on page 3 of "Note book 1818. Number 2."

Perkaroon – Lipari Islands[12] –
Little Dr Solomon Berry sr.[13]

Two Drunken Englishmen Singing God Save the King in diff keys & both ⟨out of tune⟩ ↑fall↓
Watchman calling the hour

Story of the girl in Convent at Syracuse –
Carried off by young Ingles & Capturd by Barbary Crew[?][14]

[*p. [5]*]
Richards friend who married first for love – & enjoyed the match –
wife died –
married again for money – miserable match – it was always my house my table &c – was not I the making of you &c – wife died [–] married 3d. time poor Judgt. & it proved a judgement on him.

⟨My?⟩ scene in a country inn – Traveller in Boots – ⟨Sir you alone very well⟩ ↑They are not alone↓ – They shall [be] safe – by gad they must be hap[py][?]

At the church we mistake the city family for Dukes

[*p. [6]*]
difference between a metaphysician & a natural philosopher

[*p. [7]*]
[*at least six lines are erased and blurred The date 1809 is legible.*]

[*p. [8]*]
[*two words unrecovered*] Traveller – old
standing beyond the reach of his wits to catch a smart saying – overreaching

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12. Irving had seen the Lipari Islands on his voyage from Sicily to Messina in 1805. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 154–57. He makes further references to Syracuse and Stromboli in this notebook, p. 296 and n. 79.

13. Unidentified.

14. Irving refers to young girls compelled to take the veil in his journal entry, February 10, 1805. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 194. See also p. 296 and n. 78.

Hermitess of North Salem –
Globe – Thursday – Decr 13 1804
N York Nov 13[15]
In early youth we do not consider virtu a chimera

[*p. [9]*]
Conversations various [*smudged word*]
AKds /[?]
cheese de melon
Lercisle[?] is funny 11
Topics[?] Suchen[?] – 1
Sur L'Evieur[?] – 111 255
King John & the abbe of Canterbury[16] } 414
Bonson[?] 419
vol 23 43 p.

[*p. [10]*]

2 When the adj stands before : a substantive without articles precedes it

N	er.	e.	es.	e	nest
Gen	es	er.	es	er	Eisen
D	em.	er.	em	en	⟨[*unrecovered*]⟩
Acc	en.	e.	es	e	

3

Good – by der – die – das

f Schuld
Liebe love
M Rath

N	e.	e.	e	en	guter Wein
G	en.	en.	en	en	gute Milch
D	en.	en.	en.	en.	gutes Bier
A	en.	e.	e.	en	

---

15. Possibly a reference to a newspaper report published in 1804.

16. Unidentified jottings followed by a reference to *A new Ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury* (London, 1670?), republished frequently.

4

Good-day ein die

er.	e.	es	en
en	en.	en	–
en.	en.	en	–
en.	e	es	–.

⟨4⟩

Schön gut[17]

[*p. [11]*]

guter – gute – gutes[18]

It takes a whole lifetime to keep a secret but only one moment to lose it

[*p. [12]*]

Enquiries.

Wm & Mary College[19]

Richmond fire

Campaign at Norfolk

German authors

---

17. While bankruptcy proceedings put an end to the firm of P. and E. Irving in January, 1818, Irving was busily studying German verbs and declensional endings: "I shut myself up from society—and would see no one. For months I studied German day and night by way of driving off horrid thoughts" (manuscript fragment of a biographical account that Irving communicated to Mrs. Foster during his residence in Dresden; see STW, II, 260).

Irving wrote in tabular form strong and weak declensional endings of the modifying adjectives, using the paradigms *guter Wein, gute Milch, gutes Bier,* illustrating masculine, feminine, and neuter genders, singular and plural. The headings 2, 3, and 4 are superimposed on what was 1, 2, and 3. Under 3 Irving illustrates the adjective "good" preceded by definite articles and lists proper endings. The "f" denotes feminine gender of the two nouns, "M" masculine for "Rath" (advice). "Good-day" under 4 is his example for declensional endings after indefinite article "ein" and the plural "die."

18. After these adjectives three lines are almost completely erased.

19. Irving visited Virginia in 1807 and knew Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Williamsburg. See his notations on William and Mary College, pp. 279–80.

Chaucers tales

B[r]ands popular antiquities[20]

Shakespeare & his times[21]

[*p. [13]*]
Ruill Revue[?] 31
Mr D Solis[?][22]

Resolve to go to the army – she may hear of my death. The idea of danger ⟨is peculiarly⟩ ↑⟨becomes agreeable⟩↓ naturally occurs to a young man when he is in love & meets with a disappointment.[23]

[*p. [14]*]
There is but one way of coming into the world but ten thousand of going out –

[*p. [15] erased*]

[*p. [16]*]
My friends were many. I therefore had abundance of sympathy. It was spread over a ⟨whe⟩ wide surface & was not deep in any one place but then the aggregate amount was abundant – each friend shook me by the hand warmly – was very sorry for my misfortune – always accostd me with cordiality tho I now & then saw them skulk round a corner to get out of my way.

[*p. [17]*]
Gentleman of extremely polite addıess outer polish –
Like a knife worn thin ⟨in⟩ thru cleaning & polishing

20. Irving's book titles point to some of his reading. In preparing himself for writing about English customs and traditions in *The Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*, Irving used John Brand's *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1795), revised and augmented by Sir Henry Ellis (1813) and readily available. See also pp. 369–70.

21. Nathan Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times . . .*, 2 vols. (London, 1817). Irving lists this title earlier also. See p. 180.

22. Unidentified names. Irving also met a Mr. de Solis in Bordeaux in 1826. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 562–63.

23. The passage "Resolve . . . disappointment" is written in ink.

[*p. [18] blank*]

[*p. [19]*]
The unfortunate man with 100 f[rien]ds visited by an old rich neighbour. A close hunks[24] – asks the unf[ortunat]e man what he means to do – oh he has such a plan which will do wonders. Old hunks agrees but in the mean time had you not better mind your shop –

Sees him again – disappointed in that – but a rich f[rien]d has promised so & so – old hunks agrees but had better mind the shop.

At length disappoin[te]d in all but no matter I ⟨fr⟩ am convin[ce]d my shop will support me & will not depend more upon fds – have you says old hunks why then here[']s 1000£ to begin with

[*p. [20] blank*]

[*p. [21]*]
1 lb Sugar
⅓ lb butter
pint milk
3 Tablespfl yeast
knead in flour until stiff enough to roll & let it rise
– spice as you please
⟨boild in lard⟩

Crullers
1 lb butter
1 lb Sugar
8 Eggs
spices
flour enough to shape them
boild in Lard[25]

[*p. [22] blank*]

[*p. [23]*]

Wm & Mary College – vacation from middle of June until autumn –

Large Square – large old wooden houses, remains of ancient magnificence – Bassets – Tazewelles[26] &c

24. Of uncertain origin, "hunks" refers to a surly, covetous person or a miser.

25. Irving mentions such crullers at the end of the Haddon Hall manuscript. See p. 384.

26. Burwell Bassett, nephew of Martha Washington, bought an early colonial home, belonging to Colonel Philip Johnson. It came to be called Bassett Hall because of Bassett's lavish hospitality, and has become the Rockefeller home since the Williamsburg Restoration.

Lord Bottatourts statue – head knocked off but restored[27] –

Grass grows in streets –

Old Davis merchant – quondam taylor – Student asks for cloth – how much for coat – breeches – Sir I am no taylor. Im a merchant – never forgotten – a standing butt[28] – arms himself
houses with windows – small apertures for gun – shoots with shot – stood the ginger for many years of diff[eren]t students – an hereditary feud –

[*p. [24]*]
Raleigh tavern – bust in wood of Sir Walter[29]

[*p. [25]*]

Our roman youth is diligently taught
The deep mysterious art of growing rich
And the first word that children learn to speak
Are of the value of the names of coins.
Can a penurious wretch that with his milk
Hath suckd the basest dread of usury
pretend to serious and heroic thoughts?
Can cast & answer [*unrecovered*] lasting lines?
[*half line completely erased*] the art of
[*two lines erased*]
swells with this [*unrecovered*] which he gave himself
And taking something in the crowd
Brags of [*half line unrecovered*]
[*line erased*]
Men ever had [*half line unrecovered*]

Tazewell Hall, formerly the home of John Randolph, last royal attorney general for the Virginia colony, and purchased by John Tazewell in 1778, was one of the most elaborate estates. It has not been restored.

27. Norborne Berkeley, baron de Botetourt (ca. 1718–1770) was appointed colonial governor of Virginia in 1768. A marble statue ereeted in 1773 on the capitol piazza was thrown from its pedestal and damaged during the Revolution, but aecounts vary whether its head was knoeked off. In 1801 the College of William and Mary purchased it and moved it to the college yard, but it is now in the Earl Gregg Swem Library. The popular pronunciation of the name as "Bottatot," eontinuing to the present day, explains Irving's spelling. The statue is also mentioned in Weld's *Travels*. . . . See p.229.

28. Objeet of teasing and ridicule.

29. Famous Tavern in Williamsburg, again restored and operating.

To coin [*four words unrecovered*] to his age
Words are like leaves some wither in the year
And every year a younger one succeeds
[*line unrecovered*]
And burnish those that more and most inquire[30]

[*p. [26]*]
Use is the judge, the care & rule of speech

[*p. [27]*]
[*Two unrecovered words not in Irving's hand*]
The happy temperature of the greater part of Am[erica]: ⟨wholes⟩ requiring industry – wholesome fruits – grain – not tropical – A climate favorable to ⟨industr⟩ liberty – requires activity

[*p. [28]*]
That noble sincerity which is the basis of every truly great character
It is difficult to reach a heart buried beneath a heap of riches

[*p. [29]*]
18 Feby – Warm day sun gleaming through moist Clouds – springy ground – first hear the lark pouring out her jocund strain

[*p. [30]*]
Two old men – one haggard & furrowd by care – the other with grey hair – Tower – Thunder storm – & one mouldering by time

---

I have watched from my mountain those massess of population that seemed like billows rolling over the face of the country burning down the forests before them & dying away in the far distant regions of the west

[*p. [31] fourteen or fifteen lines erased and illegible*]

[*p. [32]*]
Poesias Escogidas
de Nuestros cancioneros
coleccíon de D'Ramón Fernandez[31]
[*two lines erased*]

30. An entire page, "Our . . . [*unrecovered*]" is badly blurred and so faint as to be virtually illegible.

31. *Poesías escogidad de nuestros cancioneros y romanceros antiguos,* in *Coleccíon del Parnaso español,* ed. Ramón Fernandez (Madrid, 1786–1804), vols. 16–17 (published in 1796). Don Ramón Fernandez is a pseudonym for Pedro Estala.

[*pp. [33–34] blank*]

[*p. [35]*]
Highlands
Is it possible to render such [*unrecovered*] with such manner violent[?]
[*two words erased*]

We cannot vie with aristocratic Europe we ought not to want it. Away then with false parade – false taste and to be [*half line erased*] about the – Washington – his character a natural property – his example as valuable as his services[32]
[*five lines erased and illegible*]

[*pp. [36–37] blank and torn*]

[*p. [38]*]
Dupradt his 4 comments[33] [*three words unrecovered*]

[*p. [39]*]
He who speaks much ⟨th⟩ expends a vast deal of air, and must make up the loss by abundant breathing, that wears out the machinery of the lungs too fast; wherefore I hold it praiseworthy to be exceeding sparing of words –

Taciturnity is to Talkativeness what ⟨medicine⟩ ↑medical science↓ is to Quackery. The former is sought after [–] the latter thrust upon you. The former gives its remidies ⟨frequently⟩ & without disguise – The latter puts off its coloured chalk ↑wrappd it↓ in particolourd ↑wraps↓ ⟨parchment⟩ slips of parchment & the former leaves the reputation of his Simples to their efficacy – the latter reccommends his salted moss and smoked Spikinard ⟨throu⟩[34] [p. *[40]*] by means of the anticks of his mountebank & ape. The more a man inclines to words the less is he prone to deeds.[35]

[*pp. [41–42] missing*]

32. The passage "Is . . . services" is written over a page of erasures, followed by five lines of erasures that are illegible.

33. The line is upside down at bottom of page.

34. Irving canceled the entire page written in ink "He . . . throu>", with a large *X*.

35. "by . . . deeds" is also in ink.

[*p. [43]*]
Das Schwartze Pferd
das Deutsche Schifferhaus
Auchs bequemes logis & Mittagsessen

Victuelling office Square[36]
Towerhill[37]
bench before the door
& Finch

[*p. [44]*]
Old fellow with crown of white hat – white eyebrows
round red cap opposite

City of Rotterdam

Henry Popkins[38]
Irish provision wharf

Great black ships & hulks lying careening in the wind like sea monsters

---

Columns of heavy bl[ac]k smoke sails half spread

[*p. [45]*]
Neat dutch men among them with varnished sides

Cries of Sailors – creaking of cordage – taverns bowing ⟨over⟩ out over the river with sailors with hats on smoking in them – atmosphere over head murky [–] sun now & then seen – wading thro fields of smoke – clear day else where
Some ships taunt[taut] & trim & well painted – others slattern

---

harmonies[?] of caulkers
forest of masts[39]

36. The German phrases, the Black Horse, the German Mariner's House, Auch's comfortable lodgings and dinner, sound like names of inns that Irving recorded.

37. The office was probably on Tower Hill, northwest of the London Tower.

38. Possibly the same English friends that Irving knew later in Paris, whose name he used for "The Adventure of the Popkins Family," in *Tales of a Traveller*. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 278.

39. The words "Old Wapping" are written vertically along the left hand margin of the page. The district to the south of the London Docks, about two miles below London Bridge, is called Wapping.

[*p. [46]*]
emerge into sunshine

Rotherhether[?] to the right[40] [*word erased*] & lime house in the distants – white buildings & red tiled roofs.

Colliers ⟨bet⟩ – flats of them all along from London docks – drain

---

Hydra – Hulk of a frigate laying ashore

[*p. [47] sketch of a small boat*]

[*p. [48] sketch of a fishing boat*]

[*pp. [49–50] blank*][41]

[*p. [51]*]

Bohte	No 9678	20£
York St	1759	5£
Cov[en]t Garden[42]	Tripman	
Liverpool pl. 28.	44 Gt Russel	

Arthur Heywood & Co or Jas Dennison & Co
1 M. after date fur. Chas R Leslie £ *2.6.5*[43]

Strenuous reflection
Philosophy of Nature

Hat	
Trunk	
Watch	Dorngauer
Shoes	Konterfay
33	Harste
Castle St	Waidmans
Holborn[44]	

40. Possibly the river Rother in Sussex, not far from Bodiam Castle.

41. At this point Irving turned the notebook around and started writing toward the middle. It is not impossible that the entire notebook was begun from the opposite end from the one the editors have chosen. The editors have numbered the pages as if consecutive.

42. Bohte, whose address York St. Covent Garden, Irving recorded again later (p. 298) was a London German bookseller. Irving me him again at Murray's, August 4, 1824. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 377.

43. Great Russell Street was in Bloomsbury. The entries "Bohte . . . £ 2.6.5" are in ink, except "Tripman 44 Gt Russel" in pencil.

44. Possibly notations of shops and purchases contemplated. "33 Castle St. Holborn" is written in ink. Irving crossed out the list of names, "Dorngauer . . . Waidmans," with a vertical line.

[*p. [52]*]

Thomas Sackville & Thomas Norton
Thomas Kyd
George Peele
Christ. Marlow
Robert Tailor
Anthony Brewer
Joseph Cooke
Thos Decker
John Marston
Geo Chapman
Thos Heywood
Thos Middleton
Wm Rowley
Cyril Tourneur
John Webster
John Ford
Samuel Daniel
Fulke Greville
James Shirley

} Old Dramatic Writers[45]

[*p. [53]*]

Watzman Mountain in Bavaria where it is said the Emperor Charles the Great & all his army are confined until Doomsday – ⟨Prospect⟩ near Saltzburg – a cleft of the mountain from whence you hear a dull rumbling like distant thunder – probably the mountain has some lake in its bosom

Riesbecks travels
thro Germany[46]

45. This list of early English writers suggests Irving's extensive reading and study of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. Lengthy transcriptions from the works of several of these writers can be found in notebooks in the possession of the Folger Library: Thomas Sackville (1536–1608); Thomas Norton (1532–1584); Thomas Kyd (1558?–1594); George Peele (1558?–1597?); Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593); Robert Tailor (fl. 1614); Antony Brewer (fl. 1655); John Cooke, Gent. (fl. 1614); Thomas Dekker (1570?–1641?); John Marston (1575?–1634); George Chapman (1559–1634); Thomas Heywood (d. 1650); Thomas Middleton (1570–1627); William Rowley (1585–1642?); Cyril Tourneur (1575?–1626); John Webster (1580?–1625?); John Ford (fl. 1639); Samuel Daniel (1562–1619); Sir Fulke Greville (1554–1628); James Shirley (1596–1666).

46. The following selections, sometimes shortened or paraphrased, furnished Irving with the legend of the sleeping monarch, here referred to as Charlemagne but usually related of Frederick Barbarossa. This story of the mountains around Salzburg was recalled by Irving when he traveled through that area in October 1822. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 52.

J. K. Riesbeck's *Travels through Germany*, 2 vols., trans. P. H. Maty (London, 1787), was also available to Irving in John Pinkerton's *A General Collection of the*

On a certain day of the year about midnight the Emperor is to be seen with his whole train of ministers & generals going in procession to the cathedral of Saltzburg –

From the cleft whence the spirit of [*p. [54]*] the great charles issues to walk by night [–] the stream precipitates itself with a loud noise & falls in a variety of cascades down the deep & narrow gully which it seems to have dug itself in the hard marble[47]

I am a lover of mountain Scenes The pulse of nature beats stronger here[48] [–] every thing discovers more life & energy & emphatically speaks an almighty power at work. The stream which without knowing the path it must pursue meanders slowly thro the plain rushes thro the Mountains & grows impetuous in its course [–] the motions of the clouds the revolutions of the Sky & the peals of thunder are all more strong & animated

[*p. [55]*]
The vallies in the fair Season of the year are filled with finer perfumes of flowers & herbs than those of the plains – Nature is here more varied & picturesque[49]
– Man more vigorous – fanciful
– imaginative – med[it]ative[50]

Wizards whose white beards have grown ten or 20 times round the table on which they lie sleeping in the mountain, & of hermits a thousand years old who have led stray goathunters thro subterraneous passages & shewn them fairy palaces of gold & precious stones[51]

[*p. [56]*]
Character of Vanessa[52]
- - - - - - - - Bonnie Jean.
Sail thro highlands landing at Wm Dykmans[53]

Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World, vol. 6 (London, 1809). These excerpts are from the fourteenth and fifteenth letters, dated Salzburg, in this edition, p. 45.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

48. The manuscript gives no indication whether "here" modifies "beats" or "discovers."

49. Pinkerton, p. 48.

50. Irving's summation of a paragraph describing the temperament of the natives; *ibid.*, p. 49.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

52. Probably a reference to Swift's poem *Cadenus and Vanessa*, which reflected his relationship with Esther Vanhomrigh. Burns' "Bonie Jean – A Ballad."

53. Perhaps a reference to Irving's excursions through the highlands along the

[*Two lines erased*]

[*p. [57]*]
Moonlight walk on the Battery in serene pomp of heaven from white light of the moon. sails gliding along – slipping along with the tide. ripple of the river with gleam of moonlight on it. voice of seamen – pull of an oar[54] –

Stillness of night in the streets – where lately there was such bustle – St Pauls by moonlight –

Do not mistak[e] the squint of ⟨entr⟩ a sleeper for the eagle eye of enterprize[?]

[*p. [58]*]
England the deposits of all English Antiquity, usage &c
I should dread any revolution – I consider it as an old picturesque gothic building what may be very inconvenient to its inhabitants but I should dread to see it pulled down or even repaired – even a turret pulled down tho it threatend to fall on the heads of the inhabitants

That it may not Elim[inate][?] the laws[?] of fair & open commerce

[*p. [59]*]
Hence free body in church raps boys over the head – turns woman out of the pew

---

Each guest sharpend knife & fork takes ⟨remai⟩ a fly miserably his hands over a lump of Sugar[55]

[*p. [60] blank*]

[*p. [61]*]
Ship of war that walks like a giant over the deep

Distant boat – whith[e]r bound –
real animation of Men & Irishmen

Hudson. In a letter to William P. Van Ness, June 24, 1809, Irving mentions "Mrs. Dykeman in the vicinity of Peekskill" (*Letters*, I, 270).

54. Memories of his early days in New York.

55. The two following lines were erased, followed by an entire page erased.

Serenade – cloak falls off the shoulder & moonlight glitters in our speculation

1808

[*p. [62]*]
Slavonian Mythology 1796[56]
10

---

16 Decr & shocks of Earthquake at N & S Carolina
The forming of a system of govt is the ⟨fruit of⟩ exercise of mens judgement The administer[in]g of it, of their passion

[*p. [63]*]
His extreme old age – like the 5 Vol of old tedious ⟨novel⟩ work.

Drawn in by misfortune to the solitude of his own mind –

[*p. [64]*]
Lives in the valley until 19, then goes to College. ⟨driving ove⟩ Going from there to Richd. at the fire sees Rosy.[57]

Virginian tale at the time of the English govt. During the war –
– Scene on ⟨the⟩ Lake Champlain –
Tourney at Phila. Character of Washington

[*p. [65]*]
I plunged into the fortunes of the world but my heart went not with me. It lay silent & desolate. I ⟨scarce⟩ listend not to its dislikes – I scarce felt its [*unrecovered*] – when in silence of of my chamber I sought to commune with it it turned from me like a neglectd friend

[*p. [66] blank*]

[*p. [67]*]
The gorgeous Form that now upon his throne
Of Rocky Amber like some mountain peak

56. No such title can be identified.
57. Irving makes repeated references to the Richmond fire and to a contemplated narrative with the character of Rosalie or Rosy. See pp. 119–27.

Dark 'gainst a lunar sky before sun rise
In greatest majesty
not a small part of the hair[?] of the figure
need light & silver shade – fresh complexion of Angel
forever of solar atmosphere.

[*p. [68]*]
Sound of the flute by night. Its mild modulations.

Man who piques[58] himself on keeping cool when all the world is in excitement – I do not envy him his phlegm (which he would term philosophy) I like to be carried away by the warm currrent

[*p. [69]*]
I drew in new life & health & hope within the blessed air of the Scotch mountains as I looked around upon the lovely landscape I thought it could not be that a world so fair should be the appointed abode of wretchedness

---

I returnd & found the fountains of domestic happiness broken up

---

I felt as if the world was still worth living for

[*p. [70]*]
Bacon had a cross old steward who quarreled with him about the arrangements
Nature intended me for a husband & an affectionate one – I have all the love of him abide
Imprisonment for Debt
Ben & Spoon[59]

[*p. [71]*]
On the first experiment of Balloons at paris – many asked – "But what end will be answerd by these experiments? of what use is this discovery which makes so much noise ?["] Dr. FRANKLIN replied with his usual simplicity. "Of what use is a newborn child? –"[60]

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58. Prides.
59. The phrases "Imprisonment . . . Spoon" are written in ink.
60. Montgolfier's first balloon ascension aroused great public interest and Franklin wrote a paper on the subject for the Royal Society. Franklin's reply to the inquiry of the usefulness of the balloon was recorded by Friedrich M. von Grimm. "Le

[*p. [72] blank*]

[*p. [73]*]
No music like the singing of the teakettle – it sounds of home & the happy fireside &c

---

Art thou unhappy Rosy said I [–] Beleave[?] R I am

[*p. [74]*]
Difference between french & English Courage – former more chivalresque – latter not – impassive – English conduct after victory – sometimes cold & unfeeling – often humane but without parade – moderate. French cruel – ungenerous –

Picturesqueness of french soldiery.

⟨Engl⟩ Battle of York town – Detachment of Americans & detacht of french grenadiers appointd to storm have[?] several redoubts – the Americans attacked pell mell scrambled over the pallisades &c & carried it.

[*p. [75]*]
The French advanced proudly in platoon – hailed by the liuten[an]t – who comes there – Franch Grandedeir – charged & carrid it[61]

French prisoners of war at Litchfield[62] –

---

long narrow backed coats – white linen pantaloons in cold weather – high cocked hats with little national cockades [–] sallow languid looks – Resting in pairs or small groups

---

vénérable Franklin leur répond avec sa simplicité accoutumée: 'Eh! à quoi bon l'enfant qui vient de naître?'" (Baron de Grimm, *Memoires historiques, litteraires et anecdotes* . . . [London, 1814], III, 67).

61. Irving commented repeatedly upon French and English behavior. An essay, "English and French Character," one of his "Sketches in Paris in 1825," was first published in *The Knickerbocker* in 1840 and reprinted in *Wolfert's Roost* (1855) and *The Crayon Papers* (1883). Irving also began in 1825 essays on American characteristics, which have not survived.

62. Perhaps Irving observed French prisoners at Lichfield on his excursion from Liverpool. See p. 265 and n. 52.

[*p. [76]*]
Ceasar – cash keeper – Bank notes & purse of small change

[*p. [77]*]
Difference between two old merchants – one – cautious, selfish – struck his roots deeper & deeper into the ground – ⟨spread forward⟩ Branches scanty and gnarled – ⟨There were⟩ cherishd no vines or creepers – scanty leaves – stood all weathers –
The other expanded with sunshine and as he recievd the fertilizing influence of nature threw his branches generously forth – yielding shelter & shade – the former stood firm but lonely in the tempest – The latter was prostrated by it. No one rejoiced in the prosperity of the former – but all lamented ⟨the⟩ when the latter was laid low

[*p. [78] blank*]

[*p. [79]*]
Waiting at an Attorneys for five minutes talk while a tedious old fellow keeps him 2 hours – beg to have a presentation of 5 minutes

[*pp. [80–81] torn out*]

[*p. [82]*]
Poor but merry fellow – in time of a hurricane at N Orleans. Thot himself the only happy man & slept that night in his clothes & said if he had been blown away could not lose anything

[*p. [83]*]
"⟨The grks⟩ The greeks were the greatest masters of exciting ⟨the⟩ and impelling the tide of enthusiasm and genius, that ever existed. This is the cause why, with means so insignificant, they performed such transcendant actions; and it is impossible to reccollect the general tendency of their public institutions without an admiration of the knowledge of human nature which they display & the great effects which they produced. If a warrior fell in battle, he was honoured with a public funeral & inscription; the survivors in consequence emulated the example. If an artist produced a work of talent he was declared to have ennobled the city of his birth; his performance was recited at the games or displayed in the temples, & the successful candidate presented to the gaze of applauding multitudes. "These," in the words of Demosthenes, "were the

expressions of the justice, the virtue and the magnanimity of their country."

Note to Haygarths Greece[63]

[*p. [84]*]
Curbed gleam of some mens minds – while ⟨their⟩ with another one the process of thinking is slow: thoughts seem to come thro their minds like water oozi[n]g thro a rock. but their every drop has the pureness & brilliancy of the diamond –

Cest une très-bonne loi, dans une république commerçante, que celle qui donne à tous les enfans une portion égale dans la succession des pères. Il se trouve par là que, quelque fortune que le père ait faite, ses enfans, toujours moins riches que lui, sont portés a fuir le luxe, et à travaller comme lui

Montessque – Esp d Lois
L V C 6[64]

[*p. [85]*]
The courage to maintain an unpopular opinion – ⟨to stand by a just but persecuted cause⟩ – to vindicate a fallen & persecutd man
The courage to stem popular prejudice & to stand unshaken though at one time the waves of popular sentiment retain lend anoth[er] return to overwhelm & buffet you
this is the courage I wish to see in a young man – not the poverty or pride for the sake of popular appl[au]s[e]

[*p. [86]*]
The courage openly to retract an incorrect assertion – to atone for an unwanted injury – to abandon a favourite version

---

There is nothing so vulgar & detestable as this driven[?] chain[?] spirit – this brute courage or rather ferocity

[*p. [87]*]
S.E. at the harp – her beautiful head & neck – graceful position –

63. With slight differences in punctuation, Irving copies precisely this extract from "Notes and Illustrations" to part 3 of William Haygarth's *Greece, A Poem, in Three Parts* . . . (London, 1814), p. 271. The entire passage is written in ink.

64. Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. Roger Caillois (Paris, 1951), II, 280. *De l'esprit des lois,* bk. 5, chap. 6. Accents, punctuation, and spelling are faulty or inexact in all of the following extracts from the French. The passage is written in ink.

[*p. [88]*]
kisses R's hand & in an instant has a smart box on the ear.[65]

[*Rest of page shows mirror image of writing in ink from opposite page*]

[*p. [89]*]
In the Republics of Italy the three powers of making ↑ye↓ laws, of executing public resolutions & that of judging the crimes or disputes of individuals. ⟨Liberty⟩ There was less liberty in them therefore than in monarchies. The govt. had resort to Inquisiteurs of State as at Venice – of the Lion's mouth to receive accusations &c[66]
⟨Voyez quell⟩
Le meme corps de magistrature a comme executeur des loix toute la puissance qu'il s'est donnée comme legislateur. Il peut ravager l'etat par ses volontés générales; et comme il a encore la puissance de juger, il peut detruire chaque citoyen par ses volontes particulieres –
⟨Montesq⟩
Toute la puissance y est une; et quoiqu'il n'y ait point de pompe exterieure qui decouvre un prince despotique, on le sont à chaque instant
Montesq[67]

[*p. [90]*]
Federated States of Swisserland & Holland
L'esprit de la monarchie est la guerre et l'agrandisement; l'esprit de la république est la paix et la moderation.[68]

In Monarchies

Montesquieu says that the world is the ⟨place⟩ school of honour. Ce maitre universel⟨es⟩ qui doit par-tout nous conduire.

C'est-là que l'on voit et que l'on entend toujours dire trois choses: "*qu'il faut mettre dans les vertus une certaine noblesse, dans les moeurs un certaine franchise, dans les manières une certaine politesse.*["]

Les vertus qu'on nous y montre sont toujours moins ce que l'on doit aux autres que ce que l'on se doit à soi-meme[:] [*p. [91]*] elles ne sont pas tant ce qui nous appelle vers nos concitoyens, que ce que nous on distingue

On n'y juge pas les actions des hommes comme bonnes, mais comme

65. Between extracts from his reading of Montesquieu are Irving's own reflections and comments.

66. Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, bk. 11, chap. 6, in *Oeuvres complètes*, II, 397. Irving translated and paraphrased. Written in ink.

67. *Ibid.*, bk. 11, chap. 6, p. 398. Written in ink.

68. *Ibid.*, bk. 11, chap. 6, p. 371. Written in ink.

belles, comme justes, mais comme grandes; comme raisonables, mais comme extraordinaires.[69] (In private we learn the quiet maxims & morals [–] in public we see what is grand. Striking – as in looking at a forest we only see the gigantic trees) Republics end by luxury Monarchies by poverty

– Montesq.[70]

[*p. [92]*]

Dans une grande republique le bien commun est sacrifié à mille considerations; il est subordonne à des exceptions; il depend des accidens.

Dans une petite le bien public est mieux senti, mieux connu, plus pres de chaque citoyen; les abus y sont moins etendus et par consequent moins proteges.[71]

Ce fut l'esprit des republiques grecques de se contenter de terres comme de leurs loix. Athènes prit ↑de↓ l'ambition, et en donna a Lacedemone[72]

[*pp. [93–95] blank*]

[*p. [96]*]

⟨that⟩ beautiful child lost in a woods. wild flowers and fairy scenery –

Dutch conversation piece – old fellow seated in rough hewn arm chair: another smoking pipe & a third on ⟨the⟩ three legged stool telling a story

[*p. [97]*]

– Waggons waylaid by robbers

[*p. [98]*]

Pulse of the universe mysterious Sea
thou visible life of impulse unrevealed
Deep let thy awful nature rest concealed
From the downward ken of proud philosophy

⟨————————⟩
⟨————————⟩[73]

69. *Ibid.*, bk. 4, chap. 2, p. 262. After translating an introductory phrase Irving copied from the chapter, "De l'éducation dans les monarchies." Written in ink.

70. After what appear to be Irving's comments in parentheses, he translated the last sentence of *ibid.*, bk. 7, chap. 4, p. 337. Written in ink.

71. *Ibid.*, bk. 8, chap. 16, p. 362. Written in ink.

72. *Ibid.*, bk. 8, chap. 16, p. 363. Written in ink.

73. These are rules crossed out by Irving.

⟨Tha⟩
The mystic secret of the energies
That rule thee in thy lone sublimity[74]

[*p. [99]*]

Federate republics

Ce furent ces associations qui firent fleurir si longtemps le corps de la Grèce. Par elles les Romains attaquèrent l'univers, et par elles seules l'univers se defendit contre eux; et, quand Rome fut parvenue au comble de sa grandeur, ce fut par des associations derrière le Danube et le Rhein, associations que la frayeur avoit fait faire que les barbares purent lui resister.

C'est par la que la Holland, l'Allemagne – les ligues suisses, sont regardées en Europe comme des republiques eternelles.

Cette sorte de republique capable de resister a la force exterieure peut se maintenir dans en grandeur sans que l'interieur se corrompe.

[*p. [100]*]

la forme de cette societe previent tous les inconveniens.

Celui qui voudroit usurper ne pourroit guere etre egalement accredite dans toutes les etats confederes. S'il se rendoit trop puissant dans l'un il allarmoit tous les autres &c &c[75]

One part can subdue or appease the sedition of another – the wholesome parts correct the unsound [–] one part can perish – another exist – It can be dissolved and their parts remaining sovreignties ↑composed of small republics↓ It enjoys the goodness of each when part[icular]ly by the force of association The power of a great monarchy[76]

[*p. [101]*]

each tries to excell the others in the marvellous ⟨B⟩ All convinced in the fact that Kidd had buried large sums on the island of NYork but when they came to ⟨the search the⟩ in disgust the place the[y] were all at variance

One had his information from a Negro who had assisted in ⟨getting⟩ digging

[*p. [102]*]

The enigmatic delights are those vast propounds[?] with a boundless Space above it fate of rolling worlds. with a vast unfathomable mysterious gulph beneath it where it may [*three or four unrecovered words*] of its

74. Unidentified verse.

75. *De l'esprit des lois*, bk. 9, chap. 1, pp. 369–70. Irving gives his extract a heading. He ended at a semicolon and added "&c &c." Written in ink.

76. *Ibid.*, bk. 9, chap. 1, p. 370. Irving translated and paraphrased the concluding paragraphs of this chapter. Written in ink.

air. It delights to clear out the rhobbers of the night to people its unknown caves with miracles[?] ⟨to⟩ & to sight itself into delicious hours by producing the universe which it is sailing

[*p. [103]*]
When the heart comes back sorrowing from a ↑troubled world↓ world[77] ⟨of care⟩ where it could find no resting place to repose itself in the ark of domestic quiet and finds even that a wreck.

To find strange faces & strange hearts in the place of ones childhood

---

The slighted lover & the forgotten friends.

[*p. [104]*]
Cold Dark night in Novr. ↑could not see 1 Inch↓ young woman in mo[u]rning [–] melancholy

[*p. [105] blank*]

[*p. [106]*]
St. Lucia – at Syracuse[78] – Young Venetian – sees young girl looking over the wall of the convent. then escapes along the way of the Catacombs. Voyage. See Mount Etna – chase[e]d by curious – Stromboli –:[79] get to Naples. procession in church at Messina[80]

[*p. [107] three lines are erased and illegible. Only the words* Die Vorzeit *and* It was *can be deciphered.*]

[*p. [108] blank*]

[*p. [109] four lines erased and illegible*]

77. After making the insertion, Irving neglected to cancel the second "world."

78. St. Lucia, a convent at Syracuse, was visited by Irving, February 8, 1805. He recorded that many girls were compelled to take the veil by their parents because they could not afford to support them or give them adequate dowries. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 193–94. Irving recorded the abduction of a young girl at the beginning of this notebook. See p. 274.

79. On his first journey to Europe, when Irving visited Sicily, he saw the Lipari Islands, among them Stromboli. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 154–57. Irving had mentioned the Lipari Islands at the beginning of this journal, p. 275.

80. Irving was in Naples, March 7–24, 1805, and had visited the cathedral at Messina, January 24, 1805. See *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 174.

[*p. [110] blank*]

[*p. [111] entire page erased and illegible*]

[*p. [112] three lines erased and illegible*]

[*pp. [113–119] blank*]

[*p. [120] blank except for a vertical line and letters "x" and "c" near top and bottom at left of line.*]

[*p. [121] blank*]

[*p. [122]*]
Fabel

Ile makes my spirits to dance, such nightly jiggs
along the way twixt this & Totnam cross,
The carriers jades shall cast their heavy packs
And the strong hedges scarce shall keep them in:

The milkmaids cuts shall turn the wenches off
& lay their dossers tumbling in the dust:
The frank & merry London prentices
That come for cream & lusty country chear,

Shall lose their way; & scrambling in ye ditches.
at night shall whoop & hollow, cry & call
Yet none to other find the way at all.[81]

Enter ⟨Sir John⟩ Banks, Sir John & Smug
B. Take me with you Sir John: a plague on thee, Smug, & thou touchest

[*p. [123]*]
liquor thou art founder'd straight – what, are your brains always water mills? Must they ever run round?
Smug[.] Banks[,] your ale is as a philistine Fox. – zouns theres fire in

81. Selection from *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, an Elizabethan play of unknown author. First printed in London, 1608, reprinted in many collections including Walter Scott, *The Ancient British Drama,* (London, 1810), vol. II. See also edited text by William Amos Abrams (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942), I, iii, lines 134–44. Some variations in Irving's text, spelling, and punctuation, in part because of old text which he modified and modernized. Written in ink.

the tail on[i]t: – you are a rogue to charge us with mugs i th' rear ward; – a plague of this wind, oh it tickles our catastrophe.
Sir John – Neighbour Banks of Waltham & Goodman Smug the honest smith of Edmonton, as I dwell betwixt you both, at Enfield, I know the taste of both your alehouses; they are good both – smart both – Hem – grass and Hay. – we are all mortal, – lets live till we die, & be merry, & theres an end –
Banks – Well said, Sir John, you are of the same humour still; & doth the water run the same way still, boy?
Smug Vulcan was a rogue to him;– Sir John, lock, lock, lock fast Sir John: – so Sir John. I'll be one of these years when it shall please the Goddesses & the Destinies be drunk in your comp[an]y thats all now, & God send us health. shall I swear I love you
Sir John –
No oaths, no oaths, good neighbour Smug Well wet our lips together, & hug Carouse in private & elevate the hearts & the livers & the lights & the lights mark you me, wether for us – hem grass & hay – we are all mortal, let us live till we die & be merry, and theres an end[82] –

[*pp. [124–130] blank*]

[*p. [131]*]
Young fashionable frenchman – who thinks himself a thinker –
Par bleu Mons Comme je pense moi[83]
talks of Aristotle Plato &c
York St. Cov Gardn Bohte[84]

[*p. [132] drawing of a house upside down*]

[*p. [133] blank*]

[*p. [134] sketch*]

[*pp. [135–137] blank*]

[*p. [138]*]
Edward Honeyball
Coopers arms[85]

82. *Ibid.*, II, i, lines 1–27. Written in ink.
83. "Damn it, sir, as *I* think."
84. The passage "Young . . . &c" is written in pencil. "York . . . Bohte," in ink is upside down at bottom of page. Irving also recorded Bothe's address on p. 284.
85. Irving's visit to the tavern "The Mason's Arms," kept by Master Edward Honeyball, is described in "The Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap," in *The Sketch Book* (*Works*, XIX, 172). The two line entry is upside down at bottom of page.

[*p. [139]*]
Inn clerk – Smokers – bit of Lamb roasting – Brass candlesticks over the ⟨above⟩ fireplace

---

Small room behind with picture of fat pig.

---

little fat Landlady.

Box given by some old testy man – beautified by his successor in 1767

[*p. [140]*]
Tobacco box out of which the dignitaries of the parish Smoke –
Tavern – smoking parties –
Falstaff Prince – Dame Quickly – Tavern[86]

Cup – the gift of Francis Reyther Armighien – ex dino Tranum
heads dont ache that made that article –
very antike

[*p. [141] blank*]

[*p. [142]*]
White-haven ⟨Porthllevson⟩

When hard north easters drive you back
Come drink & smoke at the Lobster smack

Chamberdoor
strong Iron bolt

---

wakend by cold clammy hand passing over face[87]

[*p. [143] blank*]

[*p. [144]*]
⟨In solitude the mind collects itself – Man in solitude said to have been sought by angels &c – its their own minds that led us home to them⟩[88]

86. Characters in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*.
87. "Inn . . . face", a passage covering three pages, is upside down.
88. The deleted passage is in ink.

[*p. [145]*]
Woodthrushes – flitting thro the moist woody hollows – In the morning mounting to the top of some tall tree that rises from a low thick shaded part of the woods he pipes his few but clear & musical notes in a kind of Extacy the prelude or Symphony of which strongly resembles the double tongueing of a German Flute & sometimes the tinkling of a small bell –

during the burning heat of the day they are comparatively mute but in the evening the same melody is renewed & contin[ue]d long after sunset.

[*p. [146]*]
Those who visit our woods or ride out into the country at these hours during the months of May & June will be at no loss to recognize this bird

Even in wet dark & gloomy weather when scarce a single chirp is heard from any other bird the clear notes of the Wood Thrush thrill through the dropping woods from morng to night – & the sadder the day the sweeter his song

---

Favorite haunts low thick shad[e]d hollows thro which a small brook or rill meanders overhung [*p. [147]*] with alder bushes mantled with wild vines[89]

⟨remin⟩

one that Wilson heard for several years – missed him once & found his feathers – he had been killed by a hawk.[90]

Blue bird – his society courted by the country people [–] provide houses for him[91]

Rosy feeds birds from her window[92] –

[*p. [148]*]

Blue Jay

In the charming season of Spring when every thicket pours forth harmony the part performed by the Jay always catches the ear. He appears to be

89. These passages about American birds were copied from Alexander Wilson, *American Ornithology; or, The Natural History of the Birds of the United States*, vol. I (Philadelphia, 1808), pp. 30–31. Irving sometimes condensed or paraphrased; he made some changes in copying. He used these extracts in "The Birds of Spring," in *Wolfert's Roost*. See *Works*, XXVII, 36–44.

90. Irving refers to a specific incident that Wilson cites on p. 32.

91. Wilson, I, 58.

92. Presumably a suggestion for Irving's projected novel on Rosalie or Rosy.

among his fellow musicians what the trumpeter is to a band &c. He appears to ridicule other birds

Of all birds he is the most bitter enemy to the Owl – no sooner has he discoverd the retreat of one of these than he summons the whole featherd fraternity to his assistance who surround the glimmering solitaire & attack him on all sides raising such a shout as may be heard in a still day more than half a mile off. In my hunting Excursions I have passed near this scene of tumult[.] I have imagined to myself that I heard the insulting party venting their respective charges with all the virulency of a Billingsgate mob. the owl meanwhile returning every compliment with a broad goggling stare. The war becomes louder & louder & the owl at length forced to take himself to flight is followed by the whole train of his persecutors until driven beyond the boundaries of their Jurisdiction.[93]

Baltimore oriole – In his notes a certain wild plaintiveness – naivetée extremely interesting – utterd with the pleasing tranquility of a careless plough boy whistling merely for his amusement[94] –

93. Wilson, I, 12–13.
94. *Ibid.*, I, 27.

JOURNAL 1820

This manuscript journal is No. 7 of the Seligman Collection in the New York Public Library. It consists of 89 pages of a brown leather notebook, 4¾ × 7⅝ inches, with flexible covers, and is written in pencil. On the front cover is written in ink in a strange hand: ⟨Cash Memorandums 1815⟩ 1820 mems. France.

24

28.14
6.10
2
1
1
———
39.4
24
———
15.4

8.12

8.2
8.2
———
16.4

60.
16.4
———
23.16[1]

[*p. [1]*]
Winchester. – on river Itchen[2]

1. These figures of Irving's expense accounts while traveling in England are rendered in pounds and shillings. They are written inside the front cover.

2. In a letter to Brevoort, dated August 15, 1820, Irving spoke of leaving London for the continent: "It is midnight, and I am wearied with packing trunks and making other preparations for my departure. The next you will hear from me will be from France, and after passing five years in England among genuine John Bulls it will

6 parish churches
Cathedral in which are interred
several Saxon Kings & Queens
in 6 small gilded coffins on a
wall S side of Choir[3]
Marble coffin of Wm Rufus[4]
Wm of Wykeham[5]
Cardinal Beaufort[6]
Bishop Hoadley[7]
Queen Boadicia & Alfred Great[8]
Isaak Walton[9]
– on eminence a shell of palace[10] built for Chas II
St Mary College founded by Wm of Wykeham
Henry IV married Joan of Navarre here[11]

---

be like entering into a New World to cross the Channel" (*Letters*, I, 593).

On August 17, Irving arrived at Winchester, a city of great antiquity, situated on the slope of a chalk hill on the west bank of the Itchen river. Antedating the Roman invasion, Winchester became the capital of the Saxon kingdoms of Wessex and was the seat of government of Alfred the Great (848?–900) and Canute the Dane (ca. 995–1035). Further details about Winchester are on pp. 62–64.

3. Baedeker (1927) still mentions these "six richly colored wooden mortuary chests, containing the bones of Egbert, Ethelwulf, Canute, William Rufus, and other kings, preserved from the old cathedral."

4. Under the tower is the ancient tomb which, according to dubious tradition, holds the bones of William Rufus, king of England (1087–1100), who was killed by an arrow while on a hunting party.

5. William of Wykeham (1324–1404), English prelate and lord chancellor, rebuilt the Norman nave of Winchester Cathedral. His greatest achievement was the founding of the new College at Oxford (1379) and St. Mary's College, or Winchester School, opened in 1394.

6. Henry Beaufort (1377?–1447), English prelate and statesman, was bishop of Winchester and later cardinal of the Roman Church.

7. Benjamin Hoadly (1676–1761), an English prelate, was a leader in the Low Church group of the Church of England and became bishop of Winchester in 1734.

8. Boadicea (d. 62), British queen of the Iceni (of Norfolk), fought against Roman oppression in the first century. Alfred (849–899), king of Wessex, was called Alfred the Great. He defended his country against the Danes and encouraged the revival of learning and the establishment of Old English literary prose. He is said to be buried in Hyde Abbey in Winchester.

9. A memorial for Izaak Walton (1593–1683) is in the Silkstede Chapel of the cathedral.

10. This former palace on Castle Hill was used as a barracks.

11. Henry IV (1367–1413), eldest son of John of Gaunt, was king of England (1399–1413) and married secondly, Joan, daughter of Charles II, king of Navarre, and widow of John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, in 1403.

Philip of Spain espoused Mary.[12]
St Swithin buried here[13]

[*p. [2] blank*]

[p. [3]]
August 17, 1820
Winchester
Cathedral in popular close [–] church yard large limes geese[14]
Beaufort in Cardinals robes
Knight Templar
Kings Effigies in Armour James 1, Chas 1
One lying on tomb
headless effigies
tiled pavement
ghastly effigies
Small coffins of Kings & Queens on left of Tower[15]
Rich tracery work over beaufort
cathedral cleansed & repaired – pictures of original – lost the tint of age

[p. [4]]
Crusader de Foix[16]

---

ghastly effigs of Bp Fox
& Bp Gardiner in reign of Mary[17]

---

12. Philip II (1527–1598), king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, after the death of his first wife married here Queen Mary I of England in 1554.

13. The choir of the cathedral is popularly supposed to be dedicated to St. Swithin (fl. 860), who was bishop of Winchester. He was buried, according to his wishes, outside his church, but his relics were later removed to the new cathedral.

14. The Close, partly enclosed by the remains of the monastery walls to the south of the church, with its abundant foliage and smooth turf forms a striking contrast to the grey cathedral.

15. Guide books refer to the massive piers supporting the tower, beneath which are ancient tombs. Effigy tombs with recumbent figures and statues in armor are also mentioned.

16. Probably one of the Comtes de Foix of a powerful feudal family in the south of France that supported Raymond VI and VII of Toulouse against Pope Innocent III in the Albigensian Crusade beginning in 1208.

17. Bishop Fox (d. 1528) and Bishop Stephen Gardiner (1493?–1555) have special chantries or chapels in their memory to the right and left of the refectory in the cathedral.

Bishops

Wm Rufus in choir
plain Stone Coffin

Isaac Walton
in Prior Sealsted – – a plain ⟨plai⟩ blank plaque –
Silksted[18]

St Swithin

[*p. [5]*]
William Wykham in a beautiful Chapel or Chantry – had it done 10 years before his death & so had beaufort[19]
View down Cathedral 554 feet

Round table agst wall. Small gothic windows above
[*drawing of Round Table*][20]
red & white rose in center
below county court –
King Arthur pleasant face grey beard – ermine robes – Sword & Globe – gt Gothic Hall
formerly a chapel

[*pp. [6–7] blank*]

[*p. [8]*]
Hall silent –
Grand Jury – Ladys Seats

18. Prior Thomas Silkstede, for whom the crypt is named, gave the cathedral its pulpit in 1498.

19. The most interesting chantry is that of William of Wykeham on the south side of the nave. At the other end of the cathedral is Beaufort's chapel next to the shrine of St. Swithin. Irving failed to mention the brass tablet for Jane Austen, almost directly opposite William of Wykeham's chantry.

20. Irving drew a rough sketch of King Arthur's Round Table and wrote the names "Mordred" and "Sir L Dulacke" (Launcelot of the Lake) around the top. The round table, seventeen feet in diameter and of undetermined antiquity, allegedly ordered by King Arthur to prevent quarrels among the knights over precedence, hangs on the wall of the Great Hall, chief relic of a castle erected by William the Conqueror.

Stone pavements & pillars – place for chafing dish of charcoal – from Hall look down on Winchester –

Old gate way

⟨low Hil⟩ rich bosom of valley – Naked Hills[21]

look down Main St –

Gate way at top – Cross at bottom Cathedral away to the west[22]

[*p. [9]*]

From Winchester to Southampton – after leaving Winchester see to the right the College[23] – a monastic building with large church – fine trees about it – soft beautiful valley with the Itchen wandering thro it – naked hills around --

Beautiful view ⟨of Southampton⟩ as you approach Southampton – the Itchen – with coast beyond – the Southampton Water &c[24]

New Forest where King Rufus was killed[25] –

Southampton – pleasant seaport with gate ways as you approach

Gate Way with Sir Bevis on one side.[26]

Remains of Castle

Fine mall & walk along the meadows near the shore –

[*p. [10]*]

Streets with old houses with projecting Bow windows like noses

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This day we passed Hounslow & Bagshot Heath. The Latter with much of *New* Hampshire looks like Scotland.[27]

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21. Probably West Gate, a fortified gateway of the thirteenth century, from where Irving looked into the Valley of the Itchen River.

22. Irving was somewhat confused in his directions. He looked from the Westgate down the main street called High Street and saw the City Cross below. The cathedral is southeast of Westgate and the Great Hall.

23. Winchester College, or St. Mary's College, founded by William of Wykeham in 1382, has ranked for centuries among the leading public schools of England.

24. Southampton is beautifully situated on Southampton Water between the rivers Itchen and Test flowing into that arm of the English channel.

25. The New Forest, an ancient royal hunting demesne, now partly state park and partly privately owned, contains besides bog and heath some of the most characteristic woodland scenery in England, and covers about a hundred and forty square miles southwest of Southampton. William II, called William Rufus, was killed here in a hunting accident in 1100.

26. The Bar Gate, the chief relic of the ancient fortifications of the eleventh century, had paintings of Sir Bevis overcoming the giant Ascupart. These paintings are now in the Guildhall.

27. Hounslow in Middlesex and Bagshot Heath in Surrey are west of London on the way to Southampton. Irving's observation should precede his entries about Winchester. Hounslow Heath was a resort of highwaymen at one time. Irving probably meant to write "New Forest, Hampshire" and omitted one word.

Southampton – where Canute commanded sea to stand still[28]

Evening Starlight – sounds along shore

[*p. [11]*]
August 18

Morning – Voyage to Netley Abbey with little lass from Inn – Abbey beautifully situatd among woods[29]

Fine trees grown up in ⟨Hall⟩ Court – masses of stone covered with herbage

[*p. [12]*]

From Southampton – pass Isle of Wight – Cowes – & Cowes Castle[30] – Portsmouth Spithead with Frigates at anchor[31] – ⟨Isle of Wh Wight⟩ Sun sets ⟨after⟩ behind Isle of Wight – Splendid evening –

Silvery moonlight trembling over the waves in one part of the prospect – last glow of day light in another –

Strange assemblage of caps & capts – gingerbread man in olive clothes – brown cap & brown face

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Mr Martin wife & daughter – a worthy Englishman full of gaiety & jokes but is suddenly brought up by sea sickness – Young Brunette & her brother laughing one moment – crying with impatience another –

Bivouac on ⟨dack⟩ deck –

[*p. [13]*]
August 19

Beautiful morning – come in sight of french coast. french pilot boat. men with caps – petticoat trousers of canvas one ⟨on⟩ comes on board – brown face – curling side locks – japannd hat – petticoat canvas trousers over blue ones. Knotted silk Hkf. silver chain at button hole – straddles water cask

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28. Canute (995?–1035), a son of Sweyn of Denmark, invaded England in 1013 and 1015. He succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1018, drove Olaf II out of Norway, and became king of England, Norway, and Denmark. He gave England peace and strove to continue English traditions by restoring the church to a high place and codifying English law. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

29. The picturesque ruins of Netley Abbey, a Cisterian monastery founded by Henry III in the thirteenth century.

30. Cowes, well-known yachting resort on the Isle of Wight. Cowes Castle, built by Henry VIII, was later used as a club house for yachtmen.

31. Portsmouth owes its importance to its magnificent harbor and to the sheltered roadstead of Spithead between the town and the Isle of Wight.

⟨Sunri⟩

The Packet lays to, not being able to get into Havre with the tide.

Many of the passengers embark in pilot boat at 2 francs each & go to shore – sad time with the Ladies who suffer violently from Sea sickness –

Havre – great houses – throngs on the Quay – various colours of the women's dresses – Every thing done out of doors [–] rags & clothes fluttering from every window – chattering on the street. Monkeys and parrots – ⟨towns⟩ difference between neat quiet [*p. [14]*] english town with few people moving silently about it & a clamorous & garrulous french town – ⟨Every⟩ We are followed by a troop of boys all giving advice & talking at same time – French houses to[o] high Every thing at sixes & sevens – wom[en] in long flaunting dresses – slender figures of the women – red shawls – high caps – dirt & finery in houses

Our hotel ⟨high⟩ Hammerton[?] – our vivacious landlady & cheerful goodhumoured waiting maid –

Houses with windows & doors all open instead of close [–] reserved look of the English – In the evening – people on public walks in groups – ⟨women⟩

Women at fountain in centre of the street – picturesque groups –

From our Hotel hear the sailors cry from the docks.

Nature of SAILORS CRY – melancholy – reminds me of *home*

[*p. [15]*]

Fine prospect from Beasleys & the hill over the mouth of Seine[32] – Havre &c –

[*p. [16] blank*]

[*p. [17]*]

Difference between quiet & system of an Engls Inn & hurley Burley of a french one –

Hotel de la paix.

Court yard paved – ⟨high⟩ house round it high windows open. Servants talking out of upper windows to those below – conversation carried on ⟨fro⟩ between all parts of the house – fountain ⟨play⟩ in one corner of court yd. Old Chair hung agst the wall – boot-cleaner in one corner – Two centinels in white uniform pacing up & down the Porte Cochere – (The officer in ⟨blue⟩ light blue frock white metal buttons an odd foraging cap & pipe in mouth – short & thick) Great dirty staircase paved with

32. Reuben Beasley of Virginia (d. 1847) was appointed American consul at Le Havre in 1817. Irving became a good friend and together with his brother Peter was financially involved with Beasley in the ill-fated Seine steamboat venture. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 495–500; also STW, I, 195–97.

tiles – galleries leading to chambers – chambers panneld – beds in niches – floors paved – Salle a Manger – decorated with ⟨p⟩ equivocal pictures – a kind of Grotto of shell work – a clock on one side – a barometer on the other – birds of various kinds – landladys seat with flowers by her and goldfish in glass. Landlady & waiting maid talk & joke with ⟨pass⟩ guests –

[*p. [18] blank*]

[*At top of p. [19] Irving drew a small pencil sketch of what may be harbor fortifications.*]

August 22

Embark on board Steam boat for Rouen –

Honfleur – small town between woody hills[33]

The Nave

La Rocque[34]

Suchets castle by a woody glen[35] – white sea gull flying across green mountain ⟨In consequence of⟩ ↑chateau abandoned – wild boars in the↓ adjoining forest

Weather windy with rain – steam boat machinery out of order – put into Quelleboeuf – small town on a point[36] – at auberge order dinner – ⟨pa⟩ perlan (or smelts)[37]

Old ⟨church of⟩ Church of Quilleboeuf with ⟨norman⟩ ↑saxon↓ architecture – Images of [*p. [20]*] wax & earthen ware – ship hung up & a miserable picture of a ship as a votive offering – flag with Vive le Roi et les bourbons on it – – Painted glass in the windows – wind rushes round the church & among the trees –

– ⟨Women⟩

The people of Quilleboeuf look comfortable & well clad – no squalid poverty to be seen

---

Of our party is [*blank*] a young man formerly of the Dragoons and aid

33. Honfleur, across the Seine estuary from Le Havre, was visited repeatedly by Irving and provided the setting for "Annette Delarbre," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *Works*, IV, 368–98.

34. Irving may have in mind the noteworthy two parallel naves of the church of St. Catherine in Honfleur. The siege of La Rochelle, or La Rocque, was in 1594.

35. Probably the castle of Louis Gabriel Suchet (1770–1826), a marshal of France, who took Valencia in the Peninsular War in 1812.

36. Quillebeuf, a small village at the mouth of the Seine, that Irving visited again when at Le Havre in 1823. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 224.

37. Eperlan ("smelt," "sparling").

to Genl Ney[38] – Dark hair & blue eyes – very obliging and amiable in his manners

Dragoons name Monsr. ⟨Di Couvr⟩ De Couvrer[39]

[*p. [21]*]

Dinner at Quelboeuf in a bed room up stairs – oak table – Images on mantlpiece of Cupid &c – and a Cross in the centre Diner of Omlet – Beefsteaks – Eperlan Chicken & Sallad – In the room where we dine is a large armoire or clothes press full of linen – the treasure of mine hostess – In the evening, party plays at Cards – ⟨light⟩ effect of candle light – Mrs Hilles with her pretty face enamelled[40] – hair in papers – we are ⟨pal⟩ allotted to dift rooms – Peter[41] & myself in one with ⟨some-one in with one⟩ the Pilgrim Goodintent – a man with one arm – black silk cap – Spectacles & book under his arm – – Stormy night [–] noise of sailors singing in the street – – return home of Monsr. L Interprete from Beauvais[42] in his gig – joy of the household – kiss each other – waiting maid takes the horn & plays part of groom –

[*p. [22]*]

– A Story might be made – Scene the little village of Quilboeuf on the banks of the Seine in ⟨hig⟩ upper Normandy – The interpreter a Man of Consequence of Hamburg – settled here – arrives home – his house of Stone – just opposite it is a Cross on a mound with trees over it – The great men of the village – viz the Commandant formerly of the Navy and the [*blank*] they visit one another[43] –

Old chateau on the opposite side of the Seine – neighbouring forest with boars in it –

– Quilboeuf a great place of resort of mariners – the Hotel des Marins – with ship for a sign – ships & paintings of shipwreck hung

38. Michel Ney (1769–1815), marshal of France, rose to glory in the French Revolution, supported Louis XVIII after Napoleon's abdication, but joined Napoleon on his march to Paris and commanded in the Waterloo campaign. Condemned for treason by the Chamber of Peers, he was shot.

39. Though the name is misspelled here, it appears more clearly on pp. 311 and 313 as DeCouvrier and Decouvrier.

40. Mrs. Hilles and her husband were members of Irving's party. Irving's meaning is uncertain. Perhaps her face shone in the candle light. In view of her hair in papers, she may have had "a complexion veneer" that encrusted her face with enamel. Both meanings are given in the Oxford English Dictionary.

41. Irving's favorite brother, who had been in Europe since 1808, was his traveling companion.

42. Beauvais is an ancient manufacturing city, about fifty miles north of Paris, once famous for manufacturing tapestries.

43. Irving's journals contain many such notations of details for a possible story.

up in the church [*p. [23]*] The Hotel-Kitchen a general resort – The Hostess & her parrot – every body talks at once servants & all –

DeCouvriers conversation – says the English an indifft cavalry – their horses run away with them – move them in two lines – they break the first – the others surround them

The french gamble as they ride – put coin on their sleeves & say head or tail

The Spanish are great gamblers & play for ⟨all⟩ their dress & every thing

[*p. [24] blank*]

[*p. [25]*]

Leave Quilboeuf at 8 o'clock – pass beautiful borders – forests – travellers along the height with ⟨mu⟩ donkeys &c – old ville vieux port ↑Villequier↓[44] with old church – chateau

Caudebec – old church built by the English – Promenade with trees along the river – groups with coloured dresses

[*p. [26]*]

Maillieray[45] – old chateau – high pointed roof – windows with rich architraves – terraced walks – from window to garden great green alleys – statues – clipped trees & alleys – neighbouring village Women with high caps – arms akimbo – pigeons fluttering about roofs of the castle – royal forest adjoining

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⟨Chate⟩ Abbey – Jeaumeage[46] – high towers – Saxon architecture – chateau behind –

Banks – willowed – willow hedges – people peeping out of willowed walks – river narrower – soft gentle – banks rich & green – lively – full of people [–] womens red shalls & white caps dotting the margin

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44. Irving notes briefly several small towns or villages along the Seine River on the way to Rouen.

45. Vieux Port, a very small parish of the canton of Quillebeuf, the old fishing village of Villequier, picturesquely situated between Quillebeuf and Caudebec, is La Mailleraye.

46. Jumièges, with its picturesque ruins of a famous abbey, was founded in the seventh century and destroyed in 1790.

Abbey situated in rich ⟨low⟩ part of the valley –

This river has never been described before, because not navigated [*p. [27]*] ⟨above Chateau⟩

At Abbey Jeaumeage ↑Jumieges↓ the highlands begin – hills rise from the bank of the river – on opposite side a rich flat – lime kilns (Story of Lime Kiln watcher on Hudson with old fellow who visited him at night & smoked his pipe – old fellow in big trousers – tells him where his money is hid near an old dutch house)[47]

Quilleboeuf – close by is St Aubin –
Vieux Port
Villequier on left
Caudebec
La Mailleraey derriere La Foret
De ⟨Bronne⟩ Brionne
Abbey of Jumieges
Chateau of Iville – Foret de Mauny
DuCler or Ducler on border of the river where I saw man with cocked hat ⟨fishing?⟩ – Bois de Marivaux
Bardonville in foret de Mauny
La Bouille[48]

[*p. [28]*]

Old abbey of St George on left bank of the river in rich part of the country – towers Saxon[49] – long buildings appertaining – now a manufactory – open rich country – high green hills – opposite St George on a height is the Chateau de *Corset Rouge* so called from a tradition of a young lady there who had an intrigue with a monk of St George & made signals from her windows with the *Corset rouge* – rich country about the Chateau – chapel adjoining – wide sunny landscape – rich borders to the river

Old Felix playing on his Mandolin as we pass – The charm of these traditionary anecdotes of beauty – The sunny valleys of France and her gay population. Chateau looks over one of the fairest scenes of fertile Normandy

47. Another notation for a possible story.

48. Irving repeats some names and lists others of minor local importance, not listed in guide books. Duclair and La Bouille are on the Seine between Caudebec and Rouen.

49. East of Rouen on the Seine stands the abbey of St. George de Boscherville of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[*p. [29]*]

La Bouille – situated under lime rocks – women with caps like those in old wood cut

The ⟨road⟩ shore for several miles before reaching Rouen is a line of villages and seats. The shore was crowded with people, ⟨among⟩ ↑of↓ which the greater part was women – ⟨gay⟩ bright colour of the houses [–] at a ⟨lit⟩ village a little deformed fellow a mere caricature of a man fired off three small guns – people huzzaed.

Beautiful valley just before reaching Rouen – manufacturing houses &c – Rouen with its lofty rich cathedral towers rising from the midst of the valley –

Port ⟨Shore⟩ – spotted with boats of bright colours – promenade along the shore –

⟨Church of⟩ Cathedral built by the English. fine rose windows – people passing in take holy water, bow to the altar & pass on

[*p. [30]*]

Old frenchman in spotted or rather ringed silk stockings – Cocked hat – Side locks & queue – a long light blue coat

Church de St Ouen by moonlight[50] – Old monastery by moonlight [–] Hotel de Orleans – fine salle a manger – where we dine with Mr & Mrs Hilles – Mr Greene Mr Church Mr Strobel Mr Decouvrier[51] –

Place *Vieu Marché* where the maid of Orleans was burnt – Her statue[52] – old gate way –

[*p. [31]*]

August 23

Leave Rouen at ½ past 6. Aug. 23d

Fleury – ⟨in a⟩ small village in a beautiful valley with a silver stream running through it – church spires at distance – meadows – woody hills – poplars [–] our diligence slowly winding up hill

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50. The cathedral of Notre Dame was begun in the thirteenth century. Rouen was frequently under English control, but it was the church of St. Ouen that was constructed under English domination. St. Ouen, begun in the fourteenth century, surpasses Notre Dame in size.

51. Mrs. Hilles was mentioned on p. 310, but she and her husband have not been further identified. Mr. Greene was a friend of Beasley's, whom Irving saw frequently in later years; Edward Church was associated with Beasley in the disastrous Seine steamboat enterprise and was the American consul at Lorient; Daniel Strobel was American consul at Bordeaux, 1816–1830. For Mr. Decouvrier, the Dragoon, see n. 39 above.

52. Jeanne d'Arc (1412?–1431) was burned in the large Place du Vieux Marché; her statue stands in the adjoining smaller Place de la Pucelle.

old french man – thin face – ↑gray↓ hair in papers on ears – pigtail – long coat – figured velvet waistcoat – small dog under his coat.

Postilion little withered weazen-faced fellow – black beard – lanthorn jaws – small coat with red lapels – huge boots & long whip. Horses with shagged fetlocks long ragged tails & manes – old harness of ropes & leather & wood decorated with worsted tassels. Postillion lashes them & cracks his whip and makes them scamper like devils.

[*p. [32]*]

dine at Magny[53] – hostess bustling and active – throws her weight on her guests at table as she puts down the dishes. Old Frenchman at head of the table in travelling cap – fresh complexion – large man – one near him dark olive – with great whiskers – Navy buttons

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Pontoise – great place for *Mills* – grain & w[h]eat – the Oise flows by it – ⟨and runs⟩ – fine fertile vallies about it – ⟨at⟩ Bridge over the Oise – Old walls along the higher part of the town – fine old Church with a dome that may be compared to a crown –

Passed by [*blank*], where is the palace of Prince of Mohan – situated down in a valley – [*p. [33]*] ⟨Ente⟩ Pass through Franconville [–] St Denis – old church in which the Kings lie buried –

⟨Enter by f⟩ See Montmartre on the right – enter by Fauxbourg St. Denis & Rue St Denis.[54]

[*pp. [34–36] blank*]

[*p. [37]*]

⟨St Germain⟩

November 8[55]

Leave Paris at ½ past two in company with Mr Ritchie for Rouen.[56]

Our conveyance a kind of cabriolet – two horses one large the other small & shagged – miserable – our driver – short square fellow in blue

53. Now called Magny-en-Vexin.

54. The faubourg ("suburb") of St. Denis, about four miles north of Paris, is famous for its Gothic basilica containing many royal tombs. Irving probably is referring to the rue du faubourg St. Denis and the rue St. Denis, Paris streets by which his party entered the city.

55. Irving made no entries in his journal after his arrival in Paris on August 23, 1820, until this entry, as he left Paris.

56. Thomas Ritchie, an American friend, whom Irving mentions again in his journal for October 24, 1823. See also Irving's letter of November 30, 1820, to Charles R. Leslie and letter of November 16, 1822, to Thomas W. Storrow (*Letters*, I, 607, 723).

velvet Jacket – white night-cap and blue cotton bonnet – whips & cracks his horses & makes them go at rapid rate –

There is something grand in the nakedness of ⟨french⟩ Landscape near paris – Great plains tinted with yellow green &c – solitary houses inclosed between walls – distant hills with large buildings on them

Majestic Avenues of france – great paved roads bordered with trees.

Objects seen at great distance – grow from a ⟨rat⟩ mouse to a horse – ⟨you have a⟩ a little ⟨hou⟩ confined object grows to be the house where you dine – country people kind & good.

pass the house of Gabrielle de E[57] – the balcony where she ⟨and⟩ used to come out & receive Henry 4 – House of Brick [*p. [38]*] Beautiful view on the Seine – with range of fine hills behind ⟨d⟩ ma[r]sh at a little distance & further on the rich height of St Germain[58] –

My skulking when we passed gay equipages.

Our coachy drives us triumphantly into the Hotel de Thoulouse at St Germain –

Great court yd. different offices – shewn up into one wing of house into State bed chamber – Snug dinner – good bottle Bordeau – ⟨fran⟩ fire – seat ourselves cosily by the fire –

Mr Twining[59] – House back in a court yd – ring at gate – He is herc with his two sons. Has english servant or two ⟨who start⟩ English servants rather isolatd in france – adhere to their own households. – His two boys flying kites at night & sending up lighted papers

[*p. [39]*]

We are waited on at the Hotel by a good looking girl – and a fat porter or chamberlain in a cotton cap or bonnet.

November 9

View from Castle Terrace ⟨striki⟩ Great valley with Seine winding thro it – and avenues branching off in different directions through the forest – country richly tinted with yellow & brown – Marli at distance & chateau of La Belle Gabrielle[60] – barking of dogs – crows – ⟨sun just⟩ blush of approachg sun rise behind Mount Calvary – sun slowly emerges a red disk – Streets of St Germain silent – shops not open –

Take leave of Hotel with the good wishes of the fat host – the hostess

57. Gabrielle d'Estrées (1573–1599) was the mistress of Henry IV of France, who made her marquise of Monceaux and duchess of Beaufort.

58. St. Germain-en-Laye, about twelve miles west of Paris. Irving gives some details of its chateau in the last entries of this journal. See pp. 332–33.

59. Not identified.

60. Marly, where Henry IV built a chateau for Gabrielle d'Estrées.

& all the servts. – find in Gallery of Dilligence a thin pleasant faced frenchman, a manufacturer – and a little smart talkative fellow of 18, a parisian-born, but engaged at a Cloth manufactury at Louviers ⟨Pass by⟩

[*p. [40]*]

pretty approach – bridge over seine branching in difft directions[61]

Breakfast at Mantes – a neat little town – Pass through large Kitchen – where breakfast is cooking – waited upon by good humoured girl in long eared cap – one of the company – stout fellow with something of an English face & large foxy whiskers, exclaims at the Roast fowl – toujours vollaile – insists that he had seen Grives at the fire[62] – The conductor goes out and shortly after a plate of small birds is brought in which appeases the stout gentleman –

Pass by Rosni – where Sully was born – belongs to Duchess of Berri[63] – See the ⟨Chap⟩ foundations of Chapel of which she laid the stone & where the heart of the duke de Berri is to be deposited.[64]

[*p. [41]*]

Vernon[65] an old town on the frontiers of Normandy – a church of highly ornamentd Gothic – Walls to the town – a round tower – the buildings of the town ⟨of⟩ ↑in↓ the old Callimanco style[66] – some whimsically carved – ⟨The town is very picturesque in its approach – having different bridges branching in two or three directions – and⟩ the view after leaving it is fine – a long bridge over the Seine with large stone mills –

Normans very litigious & fond of law suits –

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61. The two lines were crowded in at the top of the page, apparently expressing an afterthought.

62. toujours volaille ("always poultry"); grives ("thrushes").

63. Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1560–1641), minister and closest adviser of Henry IV, was born in the chateau at Rosny, which in Irving's time belonged to the duchess of Berry and was her residence from 1818 to 1830.

64. Charles Ferdinand, duc de Berry (1778–1820), was the younger son of the Comte d'Artois (later Charles X of France). He was assassinated in an attempt to extinguish the Bourbon line.

65. "Vernon" is written in ink, apparently filled in later.

66. Calamanco, or Calimanco, a woolen fabric of satin weave with striped or checkered designs. The name describes houses of plaster striped with timber,

At ——— take in a stout good humoured fellow in travelling cap – a manufacturer who has retired on small competency –

At Louvier Ritchie remains – intending to visit the manufactury with the little Parisian – fine ⟨ch⟩ old church in Louvier[67]

[*p. [42]*]

The manufacturer in Travelling cap tells me his mode of life – Has his small menage not far from Rouen – Has his ⟨domestic & his⟩ wife & domestic. in morng has his cup of coffee his bread butter & cream. Costs 8 sous – lets his servant get what she wants – Has his dinner vz. his potage – his bouilli & his roti & his desert ↑& coffe↓ – lives for 100 Louis a year. If he wants excursion – takes his wife & domestic to Rouen on boat at 8 sous. Need not spend money in Rouen [–]. comes back to dinner – His wife can see her family – his domestic her friends and he amuses himself about town –

Has his friends to dine with him [–] now & then gives them good potage bouilli – roti – good bottle of wine caffee and a tasse de liqueur[68] –If they want more than one tasse he never asks them again – Sometimes he puts by a little money & makes an excursion to Paris –

He talks of visiting England – He has a relation settled in London – He would go [*p. [43]*] there for 8 or 10 days – was willing to spend 50 or 60 Louis on the excursion – Was once on the point of starting but a relation died just two days before he was to set out & his wife thought it would not be proper – He was quite ennuyed at it. If the person had died two days afterwards it would have been quite another thing – because once en route he would not have minded it

[*p. [44]*]

⟨St. Ouen⟩ – ↑St Mathieu↓ church at Rouen[69] – Richly gilded imagery round the altar – devout little peasant girls with high caps kneeling at the altar – old windows richly painted with fathers of the church – reliques of English taste – old buildings about Rouen – ⟨hav⟩ parts of convents &c

In caffe women & girls with high caps – lofty air of one of the girl[s] her high cap•ornamented with a gold pin.

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suggesting the appearance of calamanco. Irving mentions such houses in "Travelling," in *Bracebridge Hall.* See *Works,* IV, 403.

67. Louviers, a small town directly south of Rouen on the Eure River, had a fine old church of Gothic architecture.

68. Potage, bouilli, roti, tasse de liqueur ("soup," "boiled beef," "roast meat," "glass of cordial").

69. One of the minor churches among the twenty-five churches of Rouen.

[*p. [45]*]
St. Ouen – There is a grand simplicity in this church – The Nave & aisle are of great extent – arches spring from clustered pillars of grey stone – a sombre air in church – Altar surroundd by high Iron gratings – lights burning at distant altars – Silence of the church. The only objects are old women here & there crawling about – who haunt these churches – & a priest kneeling at a distant altar – ringing of bell – clapping of door – – High painted windows –

Mumbling of prayers at distance –

In these vast religious buildings the distant sounds from without have a strange & solemn effect, are tempered by the building & its vaults

[*p. [46]*]
House at the corner of Place de la Pucelle D'Orleans – where Francis 1. staid on passing thro Rouen [–] beautiful relief representing the meeting of Henry 8 & Francis 1.[70] The relief is batterd by time & abuse, but many parts in fine preservation & exquisitely carved – faces with great character [–] graceful positions – fine drapery – Horses with spirit – – graceful meeting of the sovereign –

[*p. [47]*]
Embark on boat for La Bouille – country people with high caps – Commander of the port obliges the boat to part –

Cabin – Pretty ⟨Normad⟩ ↑Normand↓ & three country fellows playing at Domino – women with red dresses golden ornaments – high caps –

Enter into conversation with a young frenchman who lives not far from La Bouille – would have liked to ⟨m⟩ had me pass the night at his fathers ⟨ho⟩

Before reaching La Bouille – pass chateau once occupied by Ld Courtney – red brick – a church adjoining –

On a hill about 1½ mile from La Bouille ⟨is⟩ the ruins of the Castle of Rob[']t Le Diable[71]

70. Irving had described some landmarks of Rouen on his earlier visit in August. The meeting of Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France was the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, when the French king tried to secure the support of Henry VIII in challenging the supremacy of Charles V of Spain.

71. Robert I, called "the Devil," duke of Normandy (d. 1035), father of William the Conqueror, is often identified with the legendary "Robert the Devil." See also p. 326 and n. 98.

Arrive at La Bouille at ½ past 4 – Throng ashore [–] great bustle in the little village on the arrival of the Boat –

Our luggage carried on ass to the White Horse kept by Chartier – a little Inn. Enter into the Kitchen – dresser – firè ⟨place of⟩ ↑of↓ wood –

[*p. [48]*]
Solitary housse of petty gentlem. – ragged – large & small windows [–] old gate way with weeds about it[72]

coppers & kitchen Utensils – ⟨Have a [*blank*] of Eels⟩ Ask for dinner – Landlady offers a [*blank*] of eels – the Eels are squirming about the floor – ⟨a volaile⟩ a poulet[73] – mine host in cap – Pretty daughter – we are shewn into the *grand* chambre – paved with tiles – papered – two beds with calico curtains – Huge armoire containing the household linen – large fire place with wood fire – glass vase with roses – cupids &c

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On board the boat this day was the garde de bois of a marquis[74] – a peasant was cursing him & using all kinds of hard words & names because of his having prosecuted one of his friends –

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pass a ship partly built which has stood in same state for 30 years – a process being carried on on account of it – The roof over it covered with moss

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[*p. [49]*]
The guard de bois on board the boat had a plate of silver on his ⟨breast⟩ on sleeve with the arms of Marquis. A game bag slung over his shoulder

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On board was an old traveller – had been in Germany, Italy &c &c – grey eyebrows – ⟨a Dutch⟩ a dutch countenance – a leathern kind of knapsack slung on one side & a staff in hand – He complained of the ⟨piec⟩ theatre in Rouen always playing the same piece –

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72. The entry "Solitary . . . it" is encircled and is obviously an earlier entry written at the top of the page, below which Irving continued his description of the inn kitchen.

73. Poulet ("chicken").

74. Garde de bois ("forester").

At the White horse at La Bouille – mine host had been coachman to [*blank*] who had once been president of the convention – Once in driving him home they took the Abbey Maury[75] into the cabriolet & the coachy was obliged to rest agst. the Abbes knees, which he mentiond with pride – He was at Versailles when the people came out from paris in search of the King
– He is a small man with ⟨pleasant⟩ ↑sallow↓ countenance & pleasant black eye –

Our supper was excellent – stewed eels – a roast fowl – good bread – apples pears & nuts and very good wine

[*p. [50]*]
November 11
Fine view from the Hill above La Bouille – great bend of the river round a rich tract of country –
Sounds of rural life – crowg of cock – birds – peasants clattering up & down the road in wooden shoes – pretty norman lass on a donkey[76] – all going to the port to take rural merchandize – sun glancing along the valley – rich brown & yellow tints – Smoke rising from cottages – Sun shining against ⟨cli⟩ the limestone cliffs of the Seine

[*p. [51]*]
Auberge on the Hill above La Bouille whence we start in whimsical diligence – Man eating Gigot[77] – with double barreld gun – grey Hound – Soldier with Knapsack – great fire places – Eau-de-vie – women with high caps getting into low dilligence

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Fair at [*blank*]

[*p. [52]*]
Lovely valley before we come to Pontaudemer – river like a silver thread winding through it – lookes like the softer scenery of the Mohawk –
Pontaudemer – old norman town – houses calico – old walls with the small river running between them – Fine old church with painted

75. Jean Siffrein Maury (1746–1817), a court preacher before the French Revolution, defended the nobility and clergy in the Constituent Assembly. He fled France in 1791 but later became archbishop of Paris and a cardinal of the Roman Church.
76. Irving made a sketch of the girl on a donkey.
77. Gigot ("leg of mutton").

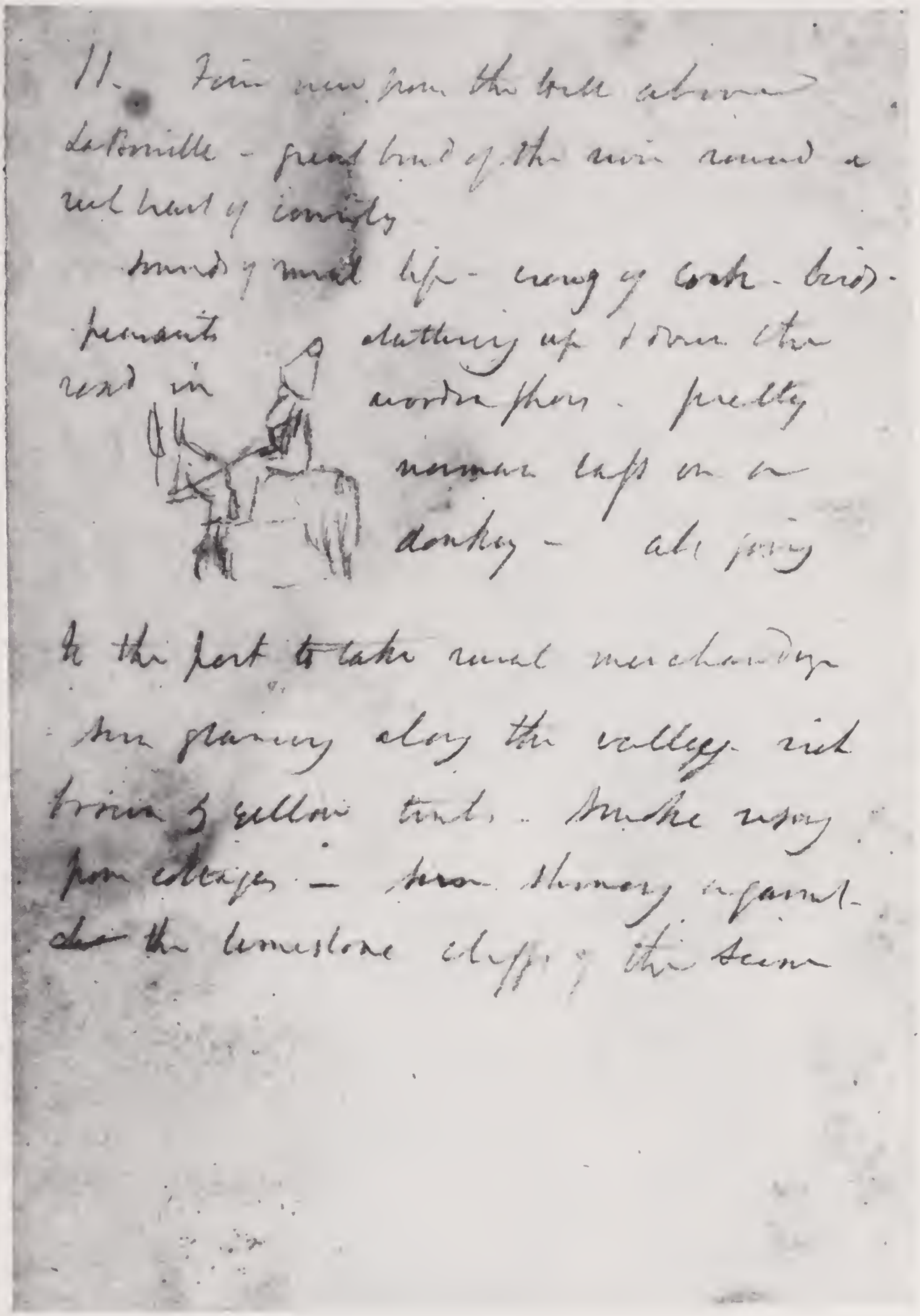


Figure 7. Drawing of a "pretty norman lass on a donkey," mentioned on page 50 of "Journal 1820."

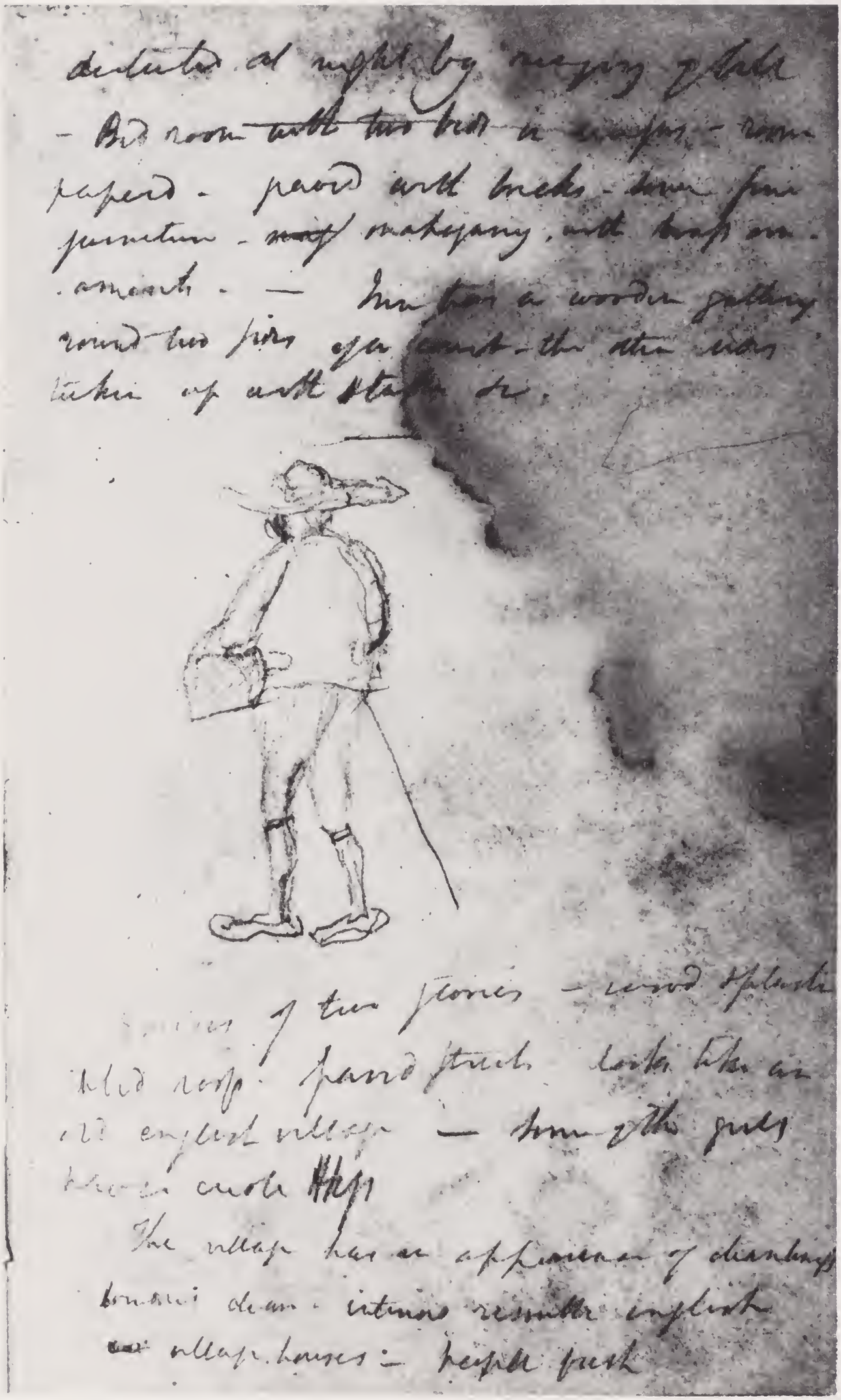


Figure 8. Sketch of man with basket and cane, appearing on page 57 of "Journal 1820."

windows – Image of St Nicholas with little child getting out of a Keg[78] – the whole gilded – Bells ringing solemnly – rich traeery in the church

Leave Pontaudemer in diligenee for Havre We walk thro the town & thro by pathes to meet the diligenee outside of the town. It was not the regular day of the diligenee & the driver wished to avoid the duty. We are guided by a fellow traveller [–] a short fellow of Honfleur – east in his eye – nose like P. Rheinelander[79] [–] had a double barreld gun whieh he had had mended at Rouen – ⟨Beau⟩ The streets thro whieh we passed remarkably quiet and neat –

[*p. [53]*]

Beautiful walk in vieinity of the village – The walk along a limp[i]d rill with high trees bordering it – on mounting the voiture we eontinue to ride along the valley – then mount a Hill ⟨and⟩ where we go on foot – Have long talk with little fellow of Honfleur – tells us that the people of Normandy are seatterd about in farm houses & not gathered together in little towns as in the other parts of franee.

[*p. [54]*]

Chapel de Grace – at Honfleur – on the height – or Cote – fine walk up to it – shaded walk with peeps out on Seine – Chapel is surrounded with a fine grove – looks out towards Havre – mouth of Seine – Honfleur Image of Virgin over the door of the ehapel – inseription etoile de la mer priez pour nous[80]

Chapel is in form of a Cross with alter in three of the crosses – It is finly painted – & hung round with pietures of ships in danger of wreek

78. Pont-Audemer on the Rille river, about ten miles from Le Havre. The calimanco houses Irving now calls "calico" houses. St. Ouen church was famous for its stained-glass windows. In art St. Nicholas is most commonly depicted with three children standing in a tub by his side.

79. Philip Rhinelander (1788–1830), the oldest son of William Rhinelander Jr. and descendant of a Huguenot family that settled in America in 1686, was a friend of Irving's. He married Mary Colden Hoffman, a half-sister of Irving's fiancée Matilda. STW's identification of Irving's crony as Paul Rhinelander (I, 134) appears erroneous, as the geneology of the Rhinelander family (The New-York Historical Society) indicates.

80. Irving described this chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce in "Annette Delarbre," for which he also drew upon the legends of Honfleur. He cites the French inscription over the portal and gives the translation "Star of the sea, pray for us." The chapel is said to have been founded in 1034 by Robert I, duke of Normandy, and rebuilt in 1606. See *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 368–98).

&c votive offerings – ⟨ships are⟩ models of ships hung up – vows to Notre dame de Grace – Images & pictures of saints &c

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Place where prayers are put up for voyages &c[81]

[*p. [55] blank*]

[*p. [56]*]
Peasant Girls – called vilette

[*p. [57]*]
November 14
Cross in Steam boat from Havre to Honfleur –
Great noise & turmoil in front of the Inn of Cheval Blanc ⟨at⟩ getting pigs on board passage boat.
take cabriolet for Pont Leveque. country through which we travel is like england.
Pont Leveque – calico wooden buildings. Inn – we enter low large room – fire at one side – passengers in dilligence [–] old gentleman in grizzled wig ⟨camlet⟩ cant makes way for us –
Gen d'armé enters ⟨fine⟩ to examine passports – fine stout fellow – head rather bald –
Our hostess & two handmaids – the latter in caps – Store of candles matches &c hung agst ⟨raf⟩ ceiling. – lighted to our room. Old oak stairs with massive ballustrades rather roughly hewn – [*p. [58]*] disturbed at night by ringing of bell – Bed room with two beds in recesses – room paperd – paved with bricks – some fine furniture – mahogany, with brass ornaments. – Inn has a wooden gallery round two sides of a court – the other sides taken up with stables &c.[82]

[*sketch of man with basket and cane*]

Houses of two stories – wood & plaster [–] tiled roofs – paved streets looks like an old english village – Some of the girls have creole Hkfs[83]

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81. In "Annette Delarbre" the chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce is a place where "prayers are put up by the mariners of the port previous to their voyages . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 369).

82. Following this entry is Irving's sketch of a peasant with a basket over his left arm and a cane in his right.

83. A kerchief, or bandana.

The village has an appearance of cleanliness – windows clean – interiors resemble english village houses – people fresh

[*p. [59]*]
November 15

Donzulé[84] – Small village where we saw the two horsemen in large Boots sitting by fire Broiling apples – In another room a party eating [–] 12 oclock – women with cotton night caps
Troarn – situated on side of a hill – a soft valley with a beautiful stream winding thro it – along the foot of hill & edge of valley poplars, willows &c. – Ruins of a convent – Town old and not very neat Post house without the town. Little garden before it with flowers – rose tree – walls of post house with pictures of generals – battles – over the bed religious picture [*p. [60]*] [–] picture of our Saviour on tree inscription

Representation – Christ qui est apparu ↑dans un chene↓ de la commune du Bolbecquet – pres Rennes en Bretagne le 14 Novr. derniere vielle de la decadence devant la Chapelle de Saint Main.[85]

[*p. [61]*]
In Choir S Etienne before grand altar
Hic Sepultus est. marble slab
Invictissimus
Guillelmus
Conquestor,
Normanniae Dux,
Et Angliae Rex,
Hujusce Domus.
Conditor,
Qui obiit Anno
MLXXXVII[86]

Lights from windows near roof – silence – wind – distant sounds of life – steps of Sacristan –

84. Dozulé, a small village east of Caen.

85. Presumably a votive tablet describing a miraculous vision. No such place name has been found in any geographical lexicon. "Christ who appeared in an oak of the community of Bolbequet [?] near Rennes in Brittany, November 14 last, on the eve of the descent before the Chapel of St. Main." The meaning of the text following the date is puzzling. Because of incorrect spellings, "veille" perhaps, an exact translation is problematical.

86. Irving failed to indicate arriving on November 15 in Caen, where he visited the church of St. Etienne, or l'Abbaye-aux-Hommes, founded in 1066 by William the Conqueror, who lies buried there. A black marble tablet before the main altar has the inscription: "Here is buried the most invincible William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, King of England, and Founder of this Edifice, who died in the year 1087."

choir paved with marble – part of the church of Saxon architecture – Wind rushing & howling about the old abbey – Building whitewashed – scull & bones of St Fidelle martyr[87]

[*p. [62]*]

In Sacristy picture of Wm the Conqueror – red hair & beard – attitude like Henry 8th – over dress black – under red – – A vaulted chapel with light from one window – Saxon architect[ure] & lancet mingled[88]

College adjoining – cloisters – refectory – Dormitory where formerly the monks were – beautiful look out over valley with the Orne & Odon winding through it[89]

Old Church of St Lauren before which the funeral service was performed – corpse lying on straw in a cart[90] –

Old castle – at present a kind of fort commands fine view of town – old walls & deep fosse of the castle – yellow walls – remains of old Chapel – now an arsenal

[*p. [63]*]

Table d'Hote – Young man next me from Maieux[91] – handsome & polite – German – Italian – the latter a wag – speaks a little english.

St. Pierre – very large church[92] – paintings of our Saviors history – – between 7 & 8 oclock of morning – women here & there saying their prayers – clattering of wooden shoes –

Shops built agst. outside of the church – bustle in Place St. Pierre – women in high caps clattering about

Cloudy morning – ⟨S⟩ a little snow had fallen in the night & lay here & there in small patches – women at prayers with pots of coals –

Hotel de Bel Epee[93] – go down over arched way – up a staircase into a kitchen – huge Copper vessels [–] [*p. [64]*] civility of Bakers who

87. Probably Saint Fidèle de Sigmaringen (1577–1622), who was killed by a soldier angered by Father Fidèle's zeal to convert Protestants in the Canton of the Grisons. He was canonized by Pope Benedict XIV in 1746.

88. Lancet architecture, a designation for early Gothic in England.

89. The lycée and adjoining cloisters were restored in the eighteenth century. The Odon is a minor tributary of the Orne, which flows into the canal linking Caen with the sea.

90. St. Laurent and the old castle were completely destroyed in World War II.

91. Meaux is a city about twenty-five miles northeast of Paris.

92. The beautiful church of St. Pierre lost its famous fourteenth-century spire in World War II.

93. Hotel de Belle Epée.

leave their ovens to shew me the way to Bell epee, notwithstanding that they had customers in their shop –

Abbey St. Trinity[94] – subterranean chapel – bones of the abbesses gatherd & put in walls – fragments of ⟨bones⟩ tombs of abbots above graves – in the ⟨ch⟩ subterranean chapel fragments of stone coffins – scutcheon broken leaning agst wall – colums – dust – Light of [*unrecovered*] light from two narrow apertures [–] light falling between columns – rude altar of stone

approach to the abbey – silent streets – great gate way – deserted courts – shattered hall – great fire place – silent – nuns gone, sound [*p. [65]*] of chant & silent – walls that overlook the town & beautiful valley ⟨of⟩ where run the Odon & the Orme

grass grown courts – Saxon architecture – flight of ⟨crows⟩ rooks

long narrow staircase to descend into the chapel

This abbey was once used as a fortress –

House where Malherbes was born – on a black marble slab is inscribed

Ici naquit Malherbes[95]

We enter port cochere – Porter & his wife shew the house – go up winding stone stair case [–] room where he was born – rafters & ⟨roof⟩ joists – old house – shewn into the cellar which is vaulted –

Beautiful walk along the boulevard – fine avenue of trees – meadow – distant view of Caen towers &c [–] the rivers [*blank*] join their waters –

⟨Return by.⟩

Make a tour round part of the [*p. [66]*] Isle de St Jean by the fierce little stream the Orne – cross it & walk round by the Convent aux dames & the field gate of the Castle – Tour de diable[96] –

[*p. [67]*]

November 17

Leave Caen at 3 oclock in diligence for Falaize[97] – Old fellow from near Falaise, who is a strong republican & seems well acquaintd with

94. The church of La Trinité, or l'Abbaye-aux-Dames, was founded in 1066 by Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror. Queen Matilda lies buried in the choir, and in the crypt below it are interred former abbesses.

95. "Here Malherbe was born." François de Malherbe (1555–1628), French poet and critic of the classical period, was born in Caen.

96. "Devil's tower."

97. Falaise, the Norman town where William the Conqueror was born. Irving had left Le Havre on November 14, stayed the night at Pont l'Evêque, and arrived at Caen November 15.

america – round red face – hair tied behind – a chevalier with the ribbon of his order: a mild gentlemanlike man – an Emigré – two strapping peasant women with high caps & red ⟨cloaks⟩ cotton cloaks Arrive at Falaise after dark & put up at Hotel de la place –

The Church as usual near by & keeps one awake with its carrilons

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November 18

⟨Breakfast⟩ Repair to kitchen – great fire – Chevalier for de bras & the old Norman at the fire.

Breakfast in Salle a manger – have the old Norman to breakfast with us – tries to impress us with an idea of his gentility [–] father carried Cross of St Louis &c [*p. [68]*] At other tables peasants in blue frocks reading book – Lads in caps

[*pp. [69–70] blank*]

[*p. [71]*]

Castle of Wm ↑where Wm was born↓ – Square – Saxon arch – Hall with chimney – communication with tower. passage iron door formerly – ⟨round⟩ circular tower – dungeon for prisoners [–] circular hole to put them down – hole thro which light was admitted – walls 13 feet thick – stairs winding in the thickness of the walls – subterranean passage leading to the tower – Shut up

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Window from whence Robert saw the pretty girl[98] – castle built on high rocks – stream away below – Mills – Ivy –

View from below – impending Crags – pigeons among them – walk along the rocky hill called the rocks of La Bruyere in search of the Maison des Fees.[99] Enquire at a cottage & the good woman [*p. [72]*] sends her little boy with us – walk down a wild little valley – two sides formed of rocky hills – a bushy meadow between with the river running along – clamber up a hill & find the Maison des Fees – a small cave, with water dropping within. My little guide told me of the devil having been seen within seated at a table & with a candle – on returning we stop at the cottage – woman has 8 children – saw several – fresh hearty & handsome – Their dinner stood on the table [–] large dishes of milk porridge & bread – while talking the father came in [–] thin pale man – drab surtout –

98. Robert I, called "the Devil" (d. 1035), duke of Normandy was the father of William the Conqueror, the illegitimate offspring of the duke's love affair with Arletta, daughter of a tanner.

99. Maison des Fées ("House of the fairies").

↑Mr Blanchard↓ took us to shew us several rocks in his garden, supposing us to be amateurs of rocks – talked of america [–] would like to go there – wanted to know if we had works of science there – should like if I repassed by that part of country that I would call on him – he would give me a prècise of a work he is about [–] an example of which he intended to send [*p. [73]*] to the royal academy of arts & sciences – It was a natural history of the world & would be in several volumes. all the result of his own observations & meditations – While talking with him our old Norman ↑Mr. Billiard↓ broke forth into a short rapturous salley – He afterwards told us that he did not think much of the philosopher – That he could make better books – and that he was quite a poet.

Place de la Poissonnerie –

Place de la Marche –

At our Hotel find Mrs La Valler who had been at NYork – a fine pleasant talkative french woman.

[*p. [74]*]

Leave Falaise in voiture for Argenton – pass by [*blank*][100] where the Fair is held – find old church – Gothic porch – country open with beautiful valleys on left – distant village of Lancy –

Arrive at Argenton about dark and stop at Hotel des trois maries[101]

Enter as usual into kitchen – with large fire – dresser – coppers – stove for cooking &c &c. Pretty Hostess and goodhumoured bustling serving girls with large caps – Our bed room with deep fire place and ⟨paperd⟩ walls roughly painted in fresco

Girl twists napkin in form of rabbit. Gets pears from closet in room.

[*p. [75]*]

November 18[102]

⟨Friday⟩ ↑Saturday↓ 8 oclock morning – walk about Argenton – neat town –

Great church with magnificent Gothic portal[103] – side chapels well decorated – columns of nave with tapestry against them – lamp twinkling in midst of choir before grand altar – Grate of Iron – tinkling of bell –

100. Argentan is on the Orne River. Possibly Irving means Guibray, a suburb of Falaise, where fairs for horses, cattle, and wool have been held since the eleventh century.

101. Irving inserted the name of the hotel later in ink in smaller handwriting.

102. Irving does not supply the day of the month here. Saturday is definitely November 18, but the entry on p. 326 bears the same date. The next detailed entries about various towns do not follow the actual sequence of his travels.

103. The church of St. Germain.

only two or three persons at early prayers. Sun shines mellowly through the side windows

[*pp. [76–77] torn out*]

[*p. [78]*]

Back of the ruins of the castle is an old deserted convent [–] great gateway – enterance to the church – three arches[104]
over the portal is still faintly seen the picture of the Virgin slaying the devil – who has human body – huge horns & serpents tail – grass grown yard –

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remains of castle with Ivy

Reeking meadows not far from the convent – Poor fellow who begged of me with soldiers cap – reccollect Leslies Welsh vagabond[105]
good hero for a tale

[*p. [79]*]

Remains of convent near public walk – square towers with high pointed roofs – – windows of difft sizes.

Beautiful ride from Argenton to Nonant, – see Seez at a distance with its lofty cathedral – pass thro part of ⟨Woo⟩ Forest of Alencon – old man in blue frock round hat & wooden shoes, with shovel on shoulder in the forest – pass by Bourg. Chateau of Chevalier de Bourg in rich valley – Pass in sight of Pays de L Ouche – rich beautiful country[106] – English scenery –

Nonant – at the entrance an old Gothic chateau – round small towers [–] pointed roofs – belonging to the Narbonnais[107]

On our way stop at [*blank*][108] to see the Stud of the King kept there – fine Stallions, for Carriage & for Saddle – beautiful english sorrel –

104. Irving made a rough drawing of these arches.

105. Possibly an early, no longer identifiable picture of Irving's friend, Charles Robert Leslie.

106. Nonant-le-Pin, Sées, and the Pays d'Ouche, given correctly later, are the proper forms of these names.

107. Probably the ancient family of the vicomtes de Narbonne.

108. Probably Pin-au-Haras, known for its government horse stud.

young ⟨Robber⟩ Rustler – Crowd Rampant capers of the horses when they hear the [*p. [80]*] bell sound for them to have their feed –

St Gauburge[109] – at the Post House – pleasant faced woman for hostess – with her only child, a son of whom she seemed extravagantly fond – Her husband a fine manly fellow – invites us to take a glass of Eau de vie before mounting. His postilion ↑⟨the ride⟩↓ was sick & he was obliged to officiate ⟨L Aigle⟩ in his place.

The ride from St Gauburge to L Aigle through a beautiful country – english scenery – arrive at L Aigle 6 oclock, put up at Hotel Croix de fer –

November 19
Sunday morning – Old church at L'Aigle with high Gothic tower, richly decorated with saints. Figures on the pinnacle of the tower – one with lance – great many of peasantry at mass –

Old Chateau ⟨of⟩ heavy masses of Brick. ⟨clipped⟩ walks of trees clipped flat at top – pretty little valley below L'Aigle

[*p. [81]*]
Women of this part of Normandy short & thick – fresh goodhumoured countenances

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Tilliere –
Chateau of Brick – village in a green platform – beautiful little valley with the Tillicre[110] winding thro it – little plat of land laid out in small patches of vegetables – look down the green valley with silver threads of water & distant church [–] trees bordering the river – mill Sun sets at end of the valley

[*pp. [82–83] blank*]

[*Irving began writing from the back of the notebook toward the middle*]

109. St. Gauburge is a village about ten miles from l'Aigle on the Risle River.

110. Tillières is on the Arve River. Irving wrote in ink over the penciled heading and inserted later in ink the erroneous name of the river.

[*At top of inside back cover upside down*]
Bareux[?] beautiful women

[*Across from back cover*]

[*p. 1 from back*]

Rue Aquitaine 26
xxxxxxxxxxx Marriage pays
Justus L Bollvaan
Pension Guillet
rue St Louis No 9
Marais
Rue Mazarine 30
Brantees distant[111]
Caen – Rivers Odon & Orne – castle (Donjeon)
University one of the oldest of the Kingdom –
Academy – taught to more – frequentd by the english
situatd in Bourg l'Abbe[112]
Abby St Etienne – founded by Wm Conqr.
Lisieux – capital of Liesovin in H[igh] Normandy on the Orbec at its confluence with the Goussey[113]
Evreux – capital pays d'Ouche H VIs name[114] the stone – cathedral – Chateau de Navarre[115]

[*p. 2 from back*]

[*p. 3 from back*]
Yvetot – old Norman King [116]

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111. The entries "Rue . . . distant" are at the top of the first page beginning at the baek.

112. The university was founded by Henry VI of England. Probably Bourg de l'abbaye ("borough of the monastery").

113. Lisieux was the capital of the Lexoviens, a Gallie people, whose realm was destroyed in the fourth century by the Saxons. It is situated on the Touques River, at its confluence with the Orbiquet.

114. Possibly Irving's abbreviation for Henry VI. The eathedral with a eloek tower is mentioned as a point of interest in Baedeker.

115. The passage "Caen . . . Navarre" is upside down at bottom of page.

116. Yvetot, a town about thirty miles northeast of Le Havre, had its own seigneurs after 1066 who held the title of king from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Irving may have heard of the popular poem "Le Roi d'Yvetot" (1813) by Béranger. The list "Yvetot . . . Paris" is written in ink.

Havredegrace[117]
Honfleur.R.
La Mailleraye.R.
Moulineaux.R.
Rouen.
Pt S Ouen
Vaudreuil
Louvers
Gaillon
Vernon
Bonnieres
Mantes
Meulan
Triel
S Germain
Nanterre
Paris

Honfleur – town & port of Liesovin in high Normandy. dinner at Lisieux[,] seat of a Vicomte. Etat major[118] garison of Quarters & some artillery – make linen clothe[?] things & hats – smoke herrings – 8800 inhabitants – Inhabitants make long voyages – from this place Chinot Pallmier, gentleman of the vicinity[,] made in 1503 the discovery of the ⟨East Ind⟩ Terres Australes.[119]

[*p. 4 from back*]

Rouen. Cathedral – Church of St Ouen – College – Bridge of boats – Hotel dieu – Chartreuse ½ a league distant.[120]

Old tower – where the Chapel of St Romain – Place of Marché aux veaux. Rouen famous for its gelées de pomme ses noix confites – son

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117. Irving's itinerary for the journey from Le Havre to Paris. The name "Havre de Grâce" was an earlier designation for Le Havre because of the chapel built in the sixteenth century and dedicated to Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. Perhaps "Porte St. Ouen" in Rouen was meant. A few accents are missing and Louviers is misspelled. The "R." after some place names is puzzling.

118. Staff or general staff, a military term.

119. Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, a French navigator, encouraged by the merchants of Honfleur, set out for India in 1503. Shipwrecked, he brought back the son of a native chief, to whom he gave his name and whom he made his heir. One of the great-grandsons, the Abbé Jean Binot Paulmier de Courtonne, published his *Mémoire touchant l'établissament d'une mission chréstienne dans le troisième monde . . .* (Paris, 1663) and gave an account of the explorations. Brazil was the shore that he reached.

120. Further details of Rouen and the journey to Paris. Hotel Dieu ("hospital"). Chartreuse, a Carthusian monastery or Charter House.

veau de rivière & ses pates du même veau[121] – grand cours a promenade along the river

Louviers – small town of the pays d ouche in a beautiful plain on an arm of the Eure – 4600 inhabitants – walled – Convent of Penitents & females of the Order of St. Francis

Vernon – small town of Pays d'ouche in high Normandy on the left side of the Seine – 3600 Inhabitants – most considerable parish is that of Notre Dame, collegiate parochial at same time chaptr composed of 12 chanoines each 800 livres de rent &c[122] –

Convent of Condolieres – Capuchins – [*unrecovered*] Benedictines – old castle very high & thick walls – a forest belongs to this town

[*p. 5 from back*]

Mantes [–] chief place of Mantois – is gov genl of the Isle of France[123] – 11 leagues from Paris [–] 1000 Inhabts – walled town – one of the finest bridges in France – Its situation & pure air make it so agreeable a residence that it is called Jolie[124] –

In the Convent of Celestines situated in the *haute de la Cote* is buried Jean Martel – Chamberlain of Charles V killed at the battle of Poictiers[125] – the *Clos* of the Celestines is renowned for the goodness of the wine gathered there[126]

Mantes said to be founded in the time of the druids In 1076 ⟨It was⟩ Mantes was burned by Wm the Conqueror Duke of Normandy. Henry 4 was here at various times

Triel 1900 souls In the Parochial church of S Martin is the Adoration of the Magi by Poussin –

St Germain – Chateau royal – one of the finest residences in France for the beauty of the appartments & gardens – Charles V in 1370 laid the foundations[127] [*p. 6 from back*] Francis 1. from his love of hunting – bought the old castle & built more – Henry 4 built the Chateau Neuf in

121. Gelées de pomme ("apple jellies"); ses noix confites ("its glazed nuts"); son veau de rivière ("its river veal"); a specialty because calves were fattened in a particular way in the Rouen area, along the banks of the Seine; ses pâtés du même veau ("its pasties of the same veal").

122. Twelve canons with eight hundred pounds revenue.

123. Mantois is the area of which Mantes is the capital. Ile de France was the designation for Paris and all its environs.

124. Jolie (the "fine" or "nice" residence).

125. The Convent of the Celestine nuns was situated in the upper Côte district. Jean Martel, the chamberlain of Charles, then dauphin of France, later Charles V, called the Wise, was killed in the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. At this battle Charles' father John II was captured and Charles became regent for four years.

126. Clos de vigne ("vineyards").

127. Charles V, called the Wise, king of France (1337–1380), almost succeeded in driving the English from France.

the mountain nearer to the river & extended the gardens to the border of the Seine & had them supported on terraces at great expense.[128] Louis 13 embellishd it with many ornaments & Louis 14 who was born there in 1638 added 5 large Pavillions which flank the corners of the old castle He also embellished the outside – the great terrace – the House & jardin du val & made many roads thro the forest

The Chateau of St Germain was occupied at the end of the ⟨last⟩ century – ⟨1688⟩ before last by the King of Engd. & the court of England Old King James was lodged there in 1689 when the revolution in Engd obligd him to retire into france & he died there[129] –

Mary Stuart his daughter & Joseph Mary ⟨de East⟩ d'Est his his wife also died there[130]

128. Henry II (1519–1559) began and Henry IV (1553–1610) completed the lavish Chateau Neuf on the edge of the hill.

129. James II (1633–1701), as duke of York, had been exiled at St. Germain with his mother and brother during the Civil War in 1648. His short reign as James II, king of England, ended in December, 1688, when he landed in France. He remained in exile, the guest of Louis XIV at St. Germain, until his death.

130. Mary II (1662–1694), eldest daughter of James II, duke of Albany and of York, and his first wife, Anne Hyde, became the wife of William III, prince of Orange (1650–1702), and jointly with him ascended the throne of England after her father's exile (1688). She died in England and is buried in Westminster Abbey. Mary Beatrice Anne Margaret Isabel d'Este (1658–1718), daughter of Alfonso IV of Modena, became the second wife of James, later James II, king of England. The additional name of Joseph may reflect the Italian custom of joining the names Joseph and Maria regardless of the person's sex. Mary's Roman Catholic faith proved highly unpopular in England, where she was contemptuously called Madame East, a vulgar Anglicanism of Mary d'Este. She preceded James II into exile in 1688 and outlived him in the palace of St. Germain seventeen years. Their daughter Louisa Mary (1692–1712), born in exile, is buried at St. Germain. Irving referred to her as Mary Stuart.

HADDON HALL NOTEBOOK 1821

A brown leather notebook 6¼ × 4 inches with flexible cover. On outside front cover in ink in a strange hand "1821 Haddon Hall &c 1821." On outside back cover a paper label is pasted, on which is written in ink in a strange hand "Notes at Haddon Hall &c &c 1821." Below it in pencil is added "also Notes in Spain." The manuscript, in pencil (except as noted), is part of the Irving Collection at Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, New York.

[*inside front cover*]
Memorandum Book of
Washington Irving
of Sunnyside[1]

J Clements (Amanuensis)
3 Marlboro St.
Great Charlotte st.
Blk Friars Road –

G Barclay
58 Glou[ce]ster place
Portman Sqr.

Jones
105 Gt Surrey St.
Diggins[?]
8 Pollen St.
Hanover Sqr.[2]

1. This notebook includes not only Irving's jottings of his excursion with Leslie in September, 1821, to Birmingham and into Derbyshire, where they visited Haddon Hall, but much other material, some of which found its way into *Bracebridge Hall*. The descriptions of Granada must have been copied from travel books at this time because many details were used in "The Student of Salamanca." The pencil notation in a strange hand, "also Notes in Spain," on the label of the cover has probably led to the erroneous conclusion that Irving made such entries in 1828. See S.T.W., I, 439, n. 111.

2. The addresses exist in London. Written in ink.

[*Flyleaf, pencil sketch of a man, possibly, from costume and peg leg, Peter Stuyvesant. Above figure some faint pencil notes.* 1/6 *in upper right hand corner of page*]

[*Sketch of same figure in pencil but from behind*]

[*back of flyleaf*]
Prodigious son at litterature
Stout Gent whose mouth shuts with a clasp

Essay on monuments –
some kinds Shakespeares Tomb
– some families only known by their monuments –
Some monuments nameless –
House of Yair[?]
Fulke Greville[3]

[*p. [3]*]
"old Gastronome["]

[*p. [4]*]
Astor
Roupell[?]
Dunlop
Holloway
Fairman
Tightman
Barclay –
Wormly 37 Burton Crescent
Lenox St. James Hotel[4]

[*p. [5] blank*]

[*p. [6]*]
Inn Yd. Large Horse & small gig

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3. Random jottings. Fulke Greville, first Baron Brooke (1554–1626), author and statesman, was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth.

4. These names and addresses are also associated with London, some of which can be identified. Dunlop and Fairman were friends of Leslie. Mrs. Holloway's house in Cockspur Lane was Irving's lodging in London in August, 1817, while preparing *The Sketch Book*. St. James Hotel was 77 Piccadilly. Entire list in ink upside down at bottom of page.

Born on time. 100 years hence no more feelg
old woman in stomacher that keeps a whole neighbourhood of old houses in hot water
Old fellows concerned with beer – hands in breeches pocket – breeches slack – leans agst gate post puking in bosket –
Large rosy fellow – yellow belly [–] green coat – gaiters
⟨vagabond boys, vagabond dogs &c⟩
vagabond boys, vagabond dogs about a coach inn

[*p. [7] blank*]

[*p. [8]*]
Radical made one or two exceptions of a Lord when he challengd one of the feudal fellows in return – turnd out to be a radical Lord – only claims to reward was that he had noticd him

[*p. [9]*]
From a religious Drama, performed in an AUSTRIAN CONVENT.
Die liebe Grete schaut zum Kappfenster heraus und schnaubert,
"Was riecht mir doch so süss?
Noah thust du mir diess?
Zum Zeichen wie ich dir gewogen,
Nimm um den Hals den Regenbogen.["][5]

[*p. [10]*]
September 20, 1821
Haddon Hall
Books belonging to Vernons
– Penlin – Rutlands
Vernon rode horseback.
low apart[men]ts

Vernon font
chest for communion plate with arms carved on it – oak [*unrecovered*]
leaves[6]

5. A puzzling entry in ink that has not been identified. "Dear Gretchen looks out of the window and sniffs,
'What smells so sweet to me?
Noah, are you doing this for me?
To show how well disposed I am to you
Take the rainbow around your neck.' "

6. Reference to the ancient Vernon family, Lords of Haddon. Through the marriage of Dorothy Vernon to Sir John Manners, second son of the earl of Rut-

– I tell you, Sir,
The ghost & I are friends.
THE ENG TRAVELLER.[7]

[*p. [11] blank*]

[*p. [12]*]
Sarah Dakin
his very Trew lover
P Hillot
1809.[8]

[*p. [13] blank*]

[*p. [14]*]
The Vernon part of Haddon Hall is much older than the other.

The apartments small – – The vernons had no carriages but rode on Horse back. Great boots – Holders of the titles &c belonging to them – Great Pewter dishes –

From the Vernons it passed into the possession of the Manners – then the Rutlands – There is an old Vernon font at the Chapel – & an oaken chest ⟨buil⟩ for the communion plate – bound with Iron – with the various arms carved on the sides:

[*p. [15]*]
Anti room of State Bed Chamber pannelled – pictures of Q Elizabeth of Charles 1 – of Prince Rupert &c State room – Bed of rich velvet hangings green & crimson – bed spread & inside of hangings of white

---

land, Haddon went to the Rutlands. This entry already concerns Irving's visit to Haddon Hall on September 24, 1821. For a complete description of this "unique model of an old English Baronial Mansion," see S. Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Haddon Hall* (London, 1842), where details recorded by Irving are verified and many plates illustrate the text. Irving copied extensively from *Archæologia* (see pp. 367–69) and could have found such details in Edward King's "Sequel to the Observations on Ancient Castles," *Archæologia*, VI (1782), 346–59.

In a letter to C. R. Leslie, dated Edgbaston, November 8, 1821, Irving wrote: "By the bye, whenever you want to gather a little information about Haddon Hall you will find a description of it, with a plate or two, in the 6th. vol of the Archæologia— . . ." *Letters*, I, 655. Irving with his brother Peter had visited Haddon Hall on their excursion into Derbyshire, and made descriptive entries, dated August 3, 1816. See p p. 73–77, 80.

7. Quotation from Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller* (in *The Dramatic Works* [London, 1874], IV, 41). The line, spoken by Reginald near the end of act 2, runs, "The ghost and I am friends." Written in ink.

8. Presumably an inscription that impressed Irving.

satin worked in needle work by Katharine manners[9] – great bow window – ⟨Fin⟩ diamond panes – cornice of the room ⟨alter⟩ decorated with alternate crests of Vernons & Rutlands vz. the former Peacock – the latter a boars Head.

Fire place with fire dogs – over the fire place a relieve of orpheus charming the animals – odd perspective

– The Elephant being near by is about the size of a sucking pig a lion, like a lap dog –

Room hung with tapestry[10] representing animals – birds flowers – musical instruments &c [–] floor ⟨paved⟩ ↑stuccoed↓ – two steps up to the recess in which is the bow window – The tapestry ⟨has⟩ represents the fables of Esop – with fanciful arabesques – probably italian – or flemish from italian designs – In those days tapestry was copied from designs of Raphael – Jules Romangno[11] – &c – In one corner a door is cov[ere]d. by a bit of tapstry representing St Peter shaking the snake into the fire [–] perhaps a mural from one of the last cartoons of Raphael.

[*p. [16]*]
September 24, 1821

Visit Haddon Hall with Leslie[12] & pass the day there –
11 oclock in the morning – In the state bed room.
⟨Sun cloudy⟩ fine day, sunshine & clouds –

Sun breaking into the room in ⟨scat⟩ broad masses – then shade – blue sky seen thro the window – sometimes sky coloured by the yellow panes of glass.

Wind rushing about the house creaking the doors – birds twittering about the ⟨ston⟩ courts & garden

[*p. [17]*]

Private door leading down a Great Stone flight of steps with balustrades & stone balls into a terraced garden – – lattices & low windows of the gallery looking out upon it –

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9. Katharine Manners, only daughter of Sir Francis, sixth earl of Rutland (d. 1632), who married first George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and after his assassination Randal Macdonald, earl of Antrim.

10. These Gobelin tapestries illustrated some of Aesop's fables.

11. Jules Romain, usually called Giulio Romano (1499–1546), was the favorite pupil of Raphael Santi (1483–1520) and assisted his master in completing numerous works.

12. Though Leslie does not mention Haddon Hall, he gives interesting details of his excursion with Irving to Oxford, Stratford on Avon, Warwick, and Kenilworth, and describes the genesis of "The Stout Gentleman," perhaps the most enduring of the narratives in *Bracebridge Hall*. See Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, pp. 43–44.

Terraces with stone balustrades ⟨cropp⟩ Dwarf box flower beds Walls covered with ivy

---

Horn blows. Instead of Knight it turns out to be Stage Coach

[*p. [18] blank*]

[*p. [19]*]
Old ⟨di⟩ drawing room. The Crests carved in oak – ⟨Solitary⟩ ↑worked↓ chairs – Solitary picture of a Rutland –

[*p. [20] blank*]

[*p. [21]*]
terraced garden. Fruit trees untrimmed – coverd with dead wood – ground grass grown – weeds. Wild flowers with wild bees ⟨abou⟩ at them – fruit burst with flies at it – Wye racing along at bottom of the small garden – flights of broken stone steps coverd with moss leadg down to river banks
cypress trees with red fruit – plumbs ripening – filberts Sun shining on gray walls ⟨of the⟩ Gallery looks into the garden – gallery windows with crests carved above them.

[*p. [22] blank*]

[*p. [23]*]
Drawing room – of oak pannelled with bow windows – & the arms on them in painted glass – Chairs with high backs & bottoms worked in worsted – Great carved oaken beams ⟨fo⟩ supporting the ceiling – crests of the Rutlands (boars head) carved round the cornice [–] ⟨of⟩ over the fire place is a carved motto
Drede God & Honor the King –
– Carved head of Hen[r]y 7 & his Queen
over the fire place are the arms of the Rutlands
&c – quarter sign
– Black prince viz. three feathers in a Scutcheon – with
Crown above & E. P on the sides
over fire place
[*Sketch of two coats of arms and the word* "Dragon" *along right margin*]

[*p. [24] blank*]

[*p. [25]*]

In one of the bed chambers is a representation on old tapestry of a boar hunt. The hounds which appear to be gray Hounds have Coats of mail – or quilted cloth covering their bodys.

[*Sketch of armored dog and a boar's head*]

[*p. [26] blank*]

[*p. [27] sketch of a high backed 17th century William and Mary-style armchair*]

[*p. [28]*]

Sir Hen[r]y Vernon[13] was Governor & Treasurer to Prince Arthur eldest son & Heir apparent of Hen[r]y 7

The tradition is that the Prince frequently lived with Sir Henry at Haddon where was an appartment called "The Princes Chamber" with his arms cut in several places therein

Sir Geo Vernon[14] died 1565 siesed of 30 manners – called King of the peak – Dorothy his daughter married Sir Jno Manners second son to Thos Earl of Rutland – & so Haddon went to the Rutlands

– The Vernons crest, being a boars head and to be served up at the Manners table with a song every Xmas –

[*p. [29]*]

Tapestried Drawing room – Pannil work over the fire place – Green & gold – Stuccoed cornice – Doors covered with tapestry – deep recess beside the fire place – with a bow window (great noise of rooks ⟨with⟩) sun shines warmly into the apartment –

Solitary portrait of one of the Rutlands

[*p. [30] blank*]

[*p. [31] sketch of medieval knight with falcon on horseback, copying the tapestry in room occupied by Irving*]

[*p. [32]*]

In my room is some old tapestry representing the ⟨amusin⟩ sport of Hawking. ⟨It is⟩ fine attitudes of the Hawkers – airy looks – ⟨eyes⟩

13. Sir Henry Vernon, lord of Haddon (d. 1511). Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* (London, 1861) gives the identical information that Irving recorded.

14. Sir George Vernon "died in 1565, seised of thirty Manors" (Burke, p. 1089) "and for his magnificence and hospitality was called King of the Peak" (*ibid.*, p. 924). Irving confused the proper name "Manners" and "manors."

hands thrown up – eyes cast upwards – attendants on foot – dogs &c &c

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Low dark tapestried room. ↑looking towards Bakewell.↓[15] fire place in one corner – gothic window with diamond panes – tapestry representing – Hawking – Hunting the boar [–] ↑fighting↓ the bull &c –

on Diamond pane of the window

Here
lies Dori
nda by her
love undone

[*diamond shaped sketch contains the inscription*]

Sure means to make ye soule & body ↑part↓
A burning feaver & a broken heart

[*p. [33] blank*]

[*p. [34]*]

Standing joke with travellers to call the waiting maid by a fine name & to change it now & then –

Sights from the window – man sinking in socket – convinced with beer

---

Stout Scot calls for small bottom of Brandy & some cold water

Couple of malecontent travellers – ⟨In⟩ living in a state militant with the house –

House borrows every thing. Come in for cheese – tea kettle &c

Traveller with bald head reads Hudibras[16] for half an hour with spectacles & then observes that his eyes are tired with reading –

[*p. [35]*]

Littlecote Hall[17] Worcestershire

15. A little town, about two miles from Haddon Hall that has a monument of Dorothy Vernon and her husband, Sir John Manners, earl of Rutland.

16. Samuel Butler's epic *Hudibras* (1663–1678), satirizing the Puritanism of Cromwell's age.

17. One of the finest sixteenth-century manor houses; it is about four miles northwest of Hungerford. A random entry on an otherwise blank page.

[*p. [36]*]
September 25
leave Bakewell pass thro Matlock &c[18] for Derby

Fat guard, with red face, looks like J Payne[19] – stout gentleman opposite with shabby hat, powderd head[,] black neckcloth & drab gaiters – He & guard ⟨Have⟩ ↑broach↓ many goodfornothing maxims in conversation such as – One must take care of ones self &c.
Put up at Old Kings head & George Hotel – mediocre dinner – goodfornothing old Sutlemen[20] hobbling about in little aprons. Duke of Devonshire had been invited but did not attend – What a bore it must be to these noble men to have to attend dull dinners of their "Well wishers" ⟨Pretty⟩ Head waiter or landlord with little masonic apron – pretty servant maid that had peeped through the keyhole – The house quite put in confusion by this Dinner

– Stroll about Derby. Men shop [*p. [37]*] – keeping little place Market place in Square – Pretty Quakeress in a shop

[*p. [38] blank*]

Leslies anecdote of a Drunken Soldier endeavouring to Enlist a drunken countryman – Both quarreling & both apologizing – & both meaning no harm

---

When the swallow returns and begins to build its nest, and the butterflies flutter about the fields –
When the ⟨appletrees⟩ blossoms

An ⟨ins indust⟩ insolent Christian who makes no more use of the religion of his Saviour than a petulant cur does of his masters house – to bark at passengers from the threshold

[*p. [40] blank*]

[*p. [41]*]
Bad fortune commonly ⟨allows⟩ produces dissensions in a confederate army

18. There were four villages: Matlock Bath, Matlock Bridge, Matlock Village, and Matlock Bank, all of them along the Derwent river.

19. John Howard Payne (1791–1852), the American dramatist and poet, whom Irving had known since 1807. They saw much of each other in Paris in 1823. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III.

20. Menial servants, sutlers.

(Gillies Green[)][21]
– built a large house & was miserable in it –

[*p. [42] blank*]

[*p. [43]*]

This work will no doubt receive its full proportion of praise & censure – It will be praised for many merits which it does not possess & censured for many faults which exist only in the readers fancy. ⟨Let it be⟩ I only hope it will be tried on ⟨its⟩ what it professes to be

⟨It is a common thing to find fault with an author however his ↑in↓ when he writes as a⟩ a ⟨series of essays⟩ they ⟨are not tales, or⟩ when ⟨tales that they are not a novel – It would have been a story⟩ The aim of the writer is to exemplify a series of observations on life & manners, and he has thrown them into something of a narrative form & illustratd them by characters merely to take off the dryness of abstract remark – He has not sought to hurry the reader forward by the anticipation of incident or surpr[i]ze, but has rather sought to make him linger as he lounged along thro' this volume – If readers are disappointed at [*p. [44]*] not finding it full of surprizing incidents & vehement passages I must remind them that it is not the nature of a work of the kind – It would be a hard critique on the statue of the Antinous[22] to say it was very fine – very tolerable, but it wanted the muscle & animation of the fighting gladiator[23] –

[*p. [45]*]

Intercourse of Literary people with the Great –

The great have an idea that they are patronizing when they are noticing an author –
Moore, incommoded by the ignorant great – who while they were engrossing his valuable time – distracting his attention & banquetting on his elegant & festive mind seemed to have an idea that they were patronizing him.

A fine author alwaye sacrifices time, reputation & real enjoyment when he mingles with titled crowds.

– Goldsmiths ↑honest & ⟨sim⟩ artless↓ independence
The author banquets on the rich mans viands, Yet the rich man in return expects to banquet on the authors brains

21. An unidentified quotation.

22. Antinoüs, a youth of extraordinary beauty, was the favorite of Emperor Hadrian. Beautiful statues of him still exist.

23. Probably an early draft of an introductory paragraph to a printing of *Bracebridge Hall.*

A dinner of all the ⟨fowl & game⟩ flesh fish & fowl in season, with the brains of several distinguished authors served up by themselves.[24]

[*p. [46] blank, ink shows through from preceding page*]

[*p. [47]*]

There is a cure for every thing in the world but death.

If there is not an external there is an internal cure.

The mind like the body medicines itself as in wounds where there is no external salves the ⟨body furnishes⟩ ↑[*unrecoverable*]↓ itself acts as its own healer – & cheers some minds like your bodies of so balsamic a nature

---

Moonstones – chance shots that fall on our planet – from the broadside of contending planets –

[*p. [48]*]

In which tho the little Dutchman had displayed great zeal and a wonderful sense of the dignity of his subject yet his work had been pronounced a work of humour & value intended to ⟨get⟩ expose certain follies in times, ⟨manners⟩, ↑customs↓ politics & morals and to give whimsical view of human nature

⟨The⟩ Among the papers that ⟨hav⟩ were left behind him were several tales of a lighter nature which he seems to have written from materials which he gatherd during his researches for his history[25] –

⟨He seemd⟩ He appears to have ⟨intended⟩ had an eye to publication, but why he withheld that I cannot say – How they fell into my hands it is needless to say at present [–] I can only say I am warrantd in giving them to the pub[26]

but had thrown by with N Y hi[s]t – as if then I now undertake to read to the company – I must observe before I begin that ⟨one of these tales viz Rip Van Winkle has been⟩[27]

[*p. [49]*]

Foggy morng in bits – Mist rolls away. Sun shines out warmly – trees

24. Irving's observations about the patronizing airs of the rich toward writers resulted from his acquaintance with Thomas Moore and his knowledge of the life of Oliver Goldsmith. The entries "Bad .. . themselves," are written in ink.

25. The passage "In which . . . history" appears in altered form in "The Historian," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *Works*, IV, 444.

26. Probably "public." Irving deleted "He appears . . . pub" with a wavy line through the passage.

27. In altered form in "The Historian," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *Works*, IV, 443.

loaded with moisture from mist – glisten with sun – day still [–] ⟨hazy go⟩ haze gives tender tints to the green distance – smoke rises lazily from chimnies – birds twittering here & there[28]

I have been accused ↑by an ingenious writer in a magazine↓ for giving one of thes tales by Rip Van Winkle, without acknowledging the German legend on which it was manifestly founded. The ⟨ingenious⟩ writer who made this charge ⟨has never⟩ ↑on re↓ on referring my work perceived that I had ⟨noticd⟩ ↑acknowledged↓ ⟨acknowledged⟩ ↑work and has had the candour to say so &c –↓ only I did it ⟨as well⟩ in as direct a way as I could, considering that I had to publish it in the name of Mr K and as a tale of the Hudson. Indeed the notoriety of the legend which is containd in the most popular collections of German superstitions – in the hands of every one conversant with Grn literature was sufficient ⟨for a man acknowledged,⟩ ↑to require its being surely pointed at↓ and I ⟨did⟩ was not aware that the little story ⟨written on it⟩ enlarged on it would have been

See page*[29]

deemed of suff⟨icien⟩t interest or importance to make it a matter of care or consequence. ↑It was among ⟨my⟩ the first sketches for Sk – –↓ Where it was taken from – one work which was mere experiment can safely say this tale after it was prepared ↑[*unrecovered*] literature↓ for the press was published with ⟨great⟩ hesitation ⟨and diffidence as to its suc⟩ and with great doubt as to its success –

⟨The tale here given⟩

It was published ⟨amo among⟩ in America among my first ⟨sk⟩ pages of the Sketch book, ⟨before I so⟩ and ⟨at a time when I had not the command⟩ when I wrote as ⟨wisdom⟩ & ⟨know[ledge]⟩ without much design and was merely making experiments in literature –

⟨in literature⟩ – and I can ⟨safely⟩ honestly say that the attention turned on my writings was surprizing and embarrassing to me – conscious ↑as I was↓ of the want of regular authorship that must be served on them –

28. An extraneous entry, separated by a line across the page, interrupts Irving's jottings about "Rip Van Winkle."

29. When Irving became aware of whisperings about alleged plagiarism in his "Rip Van Winkle," this part of a rough draft which eventually was utilized in the preface to *The Sketch Book* was written. This labored explanation and justification evolved also into a footnote to "The Historian," in *Bracebridge Hall*: "I find that the tale of Rip Van Winkle, given in the Sketch Book, has been discovered by divers writers in magazines to have been founded on a little German tradition, and the matter has been revealed to the world as if it were a foul instance of plagiarism marvellously brought to light. In a note which follows the tale, I had alluded to

[*p. [50]*]
I have forborne to recount various stories that have been related at the hall – some times because I doubted whether they woud be acceptable to the reader & some times because I was not warranted in betraying them into print. ⟨I was at length⟩ I have at length been called on in my turn to present my story and having been a profound listener to the tale of others I could not refuse so I begged leave to read a Mss tale from the papers of the late Mr Knickerbocker – the [*line completely erased*] I heard it might not be exactly to the taste of the ladies. My scruples were overruled but since sincerety was expressed about this Mr K whose name appeard very uncouth I had to explain that ↑native of New York↓ he was a decendant ↑from↓ ⟨of⟩ one of the old dutch families that originally settled the province and remaind there after it was taken possession of by the English settlers I told them of the History of NY. published by Mr K. a work not exactly understood in this country nor perhaps in his own ⟨& passages with⟩ but which under a grace tells a history and been pronounced a work of humor[30]

[*p. [51]*]
Music is one of those pleasures for which the Spaniards have the greatest taste. They cultivate this art with Success. Not that their national music has made any great progress. If it has a particular character it is to be found mostly in little detached airs called in Spain Tonadillas & Seguedillas; Sometimes agreeable melodies, but of which the modulations are little varied.

Bourgoanne.[31]

Valentia – After crossing the dry & barren plains of Castile, almost without a tree, where the grass is without verdure & the lands have no inclosures, I shall leave the reader to judge of the pleasure I felt on

---

the superstition on which it was founded, and I thought a mere allusion was sufficient, as the tradition was so notorious as to be inserted in almost every collection of German legends. I had seen it myself in three. . . ." Though later deleted in the authorized editions it is printed in the P. F. Collier edition of *The Works of Washington Irving* (New York, n.d.), III, 571. Irving's "see page x," provided a symbol for the continuation sixty pages later, which follows here. Irving interpolated it into entries of story-telling at Bracebridge Hall.

30. The entire passage, faded and almost illegible in part, is an early version of the introduction to "The Haunted House," in *Bracebridge Hall*, entitled "The Historian." The printed text has made it possible to transcribe some illegible phrases. See *Works*, IV, 442–43.

31. An exact quotation, minus some punctuation, from *Travels in Spain: Containing A New, Accurate and Comprehensive View of the Present State of that Country. By the Chevalier De Bourgoanne. To which are added, Copious Extracts from the Essays On Spain of M. Peyron*, 3 vols. (London, 1789), II, 188–89.

finding myself between quick hedges formed by aloe trees & serving as inclosures to orchards pastures & plantations of olive & mulberry trees – The sun was declining, the air mild, & the atmosphere perfectly serene. The exhalations of so many plants, the sweet vapours which rise from cultivated lands after long rains & the beauty of the different shades of verdure all contributed to render the landscape enchanting. I was but five leagues from Valencia.

Idem[32]

[*p. [52]*]

Andalusia. For ten leagues I crossed the duchy of Medina Sidonia, which in this district consists of cornfields & pastures. In no part of them was a vestige of an human habitation. Not an orchard, kitchen garden, ditch or style. The great proprietor seems to reign there like the lion in the forests, by driving away, by his roarings, those by whom he might otherwise be approachd, & both therefore, reign alike over deserts.

Idem[33]

All Andalusia, however, must not be judged by that district[34]

[*One leaf torn out*]

[*p. [53]*]

parsonage all over run with honey suckles & flowers for you know our country parsons are fond of flowers.

His being is a good one & he preaches the sweetest sermons. Every now & then he preaches one from Solomons Song ⟨for⟩ all about marriage & love – for he knows they are favourite sermons with me. He was in ill health ⟨lo⟩ not long since and I persuaded him to go to the Continent & helped him to the means – ↑Not long ago↓ when he came back he sent me the tale, for he every now & then makes me some present of the kind & he writes the sweetest poetry all about the pleasures of melancholy. ⟨That has⟩ they have cost me many a tear

Lady Lilly craft now calld her page or serv. & sent him to her room with directions – he returned with a beautiful morocco case green & [*p. [54]*]

gold – from out of which she took a page written in fine gilt edged vellum paper stitched with a pink ribband – This she gave to the Captain who read the follow[ing] story –[36]

32. *Ibid.*, II, 281. This passage, found in the first edition, is missing in later printings of the English translation.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 449. The first edition reads "nor tile" instead of "or style."

34. *Ibid.*, II, 450. The first edition reads "judged of by this district." The entries, "Music . . . district," are written in ink.

35. Jottings eventually used in altered form in "The Manuscript," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *Works*, IV, 366–67.

Here there was a pause. Lady Lilly craft ⟨had⟩ knowing the story had led the way in weeping – The fair Julia seemed much affected at the scenes with the young soldier but Phoebe Wilkins at the ⟨part⟩ ↑scene↓ of the ⟨flirting⟩ coquetting & parting had hung her head & wept so bitterly that Miss Templeton had to tap her on the shoulder[36]

I believe I have not yet done said the Captain there are yet several leaves – Oh yes said Lady Lilly craft, there is a kind part to the tale – but perhaps Phoebe[37]

[*p. [55]*]
Alchemy
Europe originally indebted to Egypt for chemical knowledge
– obscurity of language & affectation of mysticism.
– First ages of alchemy produced fine centers of reputation. Their works for the most part are unpublished – consist in treatises in Greek by Christian ecclesiastics
– principal ones
Synesius on the philos stone[38]
Zosimus of Panapolis on the Sacred & divine art of making gold & silver in 24 books[39]
Theophrastus on the divine art[40]
Archelaus on the same[41]
Hierotheus the Philo[sopher] on the Phil. Stone[42]
Isaac, the monk on the discovery of the mode of making silver.[43]

The Golden Age of Alchemy commences with the conquests of Arabian fanaticism in Asia & Africa, destruct[ion] of Alex: library & subjectn of Europe to ignorance & superstition

36. Used in altered form in "Annette Delarbre," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *Works*, IV, 396–97.

37. Though these characters appear repeatedly in *Bracebridge Hall*, Irving did not use these lines.

38. Synesius (ca. 370–ca. 414) was a Christian Neoplatonic philosopher of Cyrene.

39. Zosimus, born in Panapolis, Egypt, was a third-century scholar who wrote on alchemy.

40. Theophrastus (ca. 372–ca. 287 B.C.), a Greek philosopher, was Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatetic school.

41. Archelaus of Miletus was a fifth-century Greek philosopher.

42. Hierotheus was the author of a Greek poem on alchemy, published for the first time as *De Divina et Sacra Arte* in Ideler's *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1842).

43. Probably John Isac Holland, a fifteenth-century alchemist, referred to as "Isac the Dutchman," who wrote an elaborate treatise on the transmutation of metals into gold or silver.

The Saracens, lively, subtle, credulous & nurtured in fables of talismans

[*p. [56]*]
and celestial influences admitted with eager faith the wonders of alchemy – & condescendd to receive instructions from the slaves whom they had conquerd; The rage of making gold spread thro the whole mahometan world & in the splendid courts of Almanza[44] – Haroun Alraschid[45] &c

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Geber,[46] Rhazes,[47] Alfarabius[48] & Avicenna[49] the most celebrated Physicians & chemists of the Arabian school were deeply tinged with it.

In 13th century Albertus Magnus,[50] Roger Bacon[51] & Raymond Lully[52] – revivers of Alchemy

Pope John 22.[53] asserted in his art of transmutation that he had made 200 ingots

15th century Great authors. John Isaac Hollandus[54] – Geo Ripley[55] Basil Valentine[56] –

44. Almanza, a Spanish city.

45. Harun-al-Raschid (ca. 764–809), the fifth of the Abbasid caliphs made Bagdad a center for scholars, poets, and artists. He is the hero of *Thousand and One Nights*.

46. Geber or Jabir was an eighth-century Arabian alchemist and physician. Irving names many of the Arabian alchemists listed in these entries in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 201, 227, 247).

47. Rhazes or Rasis (ca. 860–ca. 925), a Persian physician first to describe small pox and to distinguish it from measles.

48. Alfarabius or Al-Farabi, a tenth-century Arabian philosopher.

49. Avicenna (980–1037) was the Arabian physician and philosopher, whose renown in medicine between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries was unparalleled.

50. Saint Albert the Great (ca. 1193–1280), called the Universal Doctor, was a philosopher and scholarly investigator in botany and the combination of metals.

51. Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1294?), English scholastic philosopher and scientist.

52. Raymond Lully or Ramon Lull (ca. 1232–1315?), a Catalan philosopher, tried to convert Islam to Christianity. Later generations attributed many works of magic and alchemy erroneously to him.

53. The Frenchman Jacques Duèze (1244–1334) became Pope John XXII.

54. John Isac Holland and his son, fifteenth-century alchemists, followed the tradition of Geber and were highly esteemed by Paracelsus. See also n. 43.

55. George Ripley (d. 1490?) of Ripley, Yorkshire was an alchemist and author of *Medulla Alchimiae* (1476). He popularized the works of Raymond Lully in England.

56. Pseudonym adopted by Johannes Thölde of Frankenhausen, Germany. He claimed his books on chemistry to be translations from the Latin of Basilius Valentinus, a nonexistent monk of the fifteenth century.

[*p. [57]*]

Universal Medicine first thot of in 15 century – cure all disorders & prolong life.

Great authors of this Scool were Paracelsus[57] & Van Helmont.[58]

About same time flourished Henry ⟨Gor⟩ Cornelius Agrippa[59] – half knave & half enthusiast.

17 Century, an attempt to revive it by the Rosicrucians[60] a secret society originating in Germany & attracted attention of Europe for 25 ys. pretended to too much & lost credit

⟨Gold⟩

⟨Solar light⟩

Gold as being the most fixed & unchangeable of the metals was considered as an intimate combination of pure sulphur & mercurial earth –

There were supposd to be 2 methods of making gold by synthesis & transmutation

Elixir,[61] medium of metals, the tinctures the powder of projection or philosophers stones

[*p. [58]*]

Rosycrucians – ⟨began⟩ rose or were first noticed in Germany at[62] ↑close of the↓ 16 century – rem[aine]d. concealed until beginning of 17 century – Their Chief Christian Rosencruz[63] – who had been to Holy land & among Arabs. – In 17 century two books were publishd Fama Fraternitatis laudabilis sedinis Rosæcrusis – & Confessio Fraternitatis – They professed ⟨to⟩ by divine revelation to explain

57. Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (1493?–1541), a Swiss physician and alchemist, had great influence and popularity for centuries. He advocated specific remedies for specific diseases and introduced many chemicals into use as medicines.

58. Jean Baptiste Van Helmont (1577–1644), celebrated Belgian chemist and physician, published extensively.

59. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), a German physician and philosopher. His defense of magic, *De occulta philosophia* involved him in trouble with the church.

60. Rosicrucians, members of an esoteric society dealing with occult symbols and claiming their origin in ancient Egypt, but traced back only to Johann Valentin Andreä (1586–1654), who used the pseudonym Christian Rosenkreuz and drew upon Eastern and Arab beliefs. Its leaders were called Illuminati and Invisible Brothers. Irving refers to their doctrines in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 215).

61. Elixir, an alchemist's preparation for changing base metals into gold.

62. "at" is written over "in."

63. Christian Rosenkreuz published *Fama fraternitatis laudabilis sedinis roseæ crucis* (1614) and *Confessio fraternitatis roseae crucis ad eruditos europae* (1615).

the most important secrets in nature & grace –: Philos. Stone – Elixer Vitae – called illuminati – Invisible brothers &c
– Authors Jacob Behmen[64] – Mich[ae]l Mayer[65] –
They talk of what they call the signatures of things – of the power of the Stars over all corporeal beings [–] their influence on human race &c of the efficacy of magic – of ranks & orders of Demons.

[*p. [59]*]
Tranquil beauty of the plains of the Vega. Darro runs thro it.[66] – The wood called Soto de Roma[67] abounding with graceful silver poplars, ash trees & Elms of stately growth –
Street called the Alcaxería[68] where silk is sold – remains as the Moors left it –
Silence & gloom of the Inquisition

Above the Alhambra & very near to it is the Generalif[69] – exquisitely situated. The walks through beautiful groves & refreshed by jets d'Eau – now much neglected
After passing the Alhambra Gate we entered a thick wood of stately trees having several winding walks, watered by springs & fountains.
Sierra del Sol. Mountain of the sun on which is the Alhambra.[70]

[*p. [60]*]
within league & half of Grenada ⟨we⟩ on reaching a eminence enterd the vast & magnificent plain called Vega de Grenada – nearly 90 miles in circumference – variegatd with farms[,] meadows, rivers, forest,

64. Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), called Behmen in England, was a Silesian religious mystie. His major works are *De signatura rerum* (*The Signature of all Things*) and *Mysterium magnum*. Irving refers to him in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 217).

65. Michael Mayer (1568–1622), a German alchemist, and physician to Emperor Rudolf II, was also a Rosierucian.

66. Vega is the designation in Spain of a tract of fertile land that almost resembles a garden. The Darro river irrigates it. Irving made these journal entries on alchemy and on the Alhambra during his first visit to Granada in 1828. For a detailed account see his letter to Antoinette Bolviller, dated March 15, 1828 (*Letters*, II, 280–86). Irving used many of the geographical names and details of this region in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall*, and depended on his reading of travel literature for them. Later he used such descriptive details in "The Journey," in *The Alhambra*.

67. Soto de Roma, Groves of Rome.

68. The name of a Moorish bazaar originally called "al-Kaisarîah."

69. The Generalife was the celebrated summer residence with splendid gardens and fountains of the Moorish princes. For detailed descriptions, see Irving's *The Alhambra* (*Works*, I).

70. Cerro del Sol.

woods & country houses & bounded by chains of mountains covered with vineyards, orange, citron, olive, mulbery & fig trees. In a corner towards East rose the walls & towers of Granada at foot of a lofty mountain cal[led][71] Sierra Nevada – Sumits covered with snow – contrasted with ↑various levels of verdure↓ the level of Summer below

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Andalusia – ↑Scene↓ near the Guadalquivir[72]

After passing thro fields of tomatoes & melons by the side of plumb, pomegranate, orange & citron trees, we saw a mule who under the [*p. [61]*] shade of silver poplars &c

Group of female peasants, variously employed under the shade of bowers of vines running the length of the cottage front – Grapes hung from the roof in rich, luscious, & ponderous clusters [–] below Goats, pigs & poultry in the highest condition were lying asleep or foraging.

Fields of maize, peach, almond trees, hedges of pomegranate

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two wandering musicians, with sentries singing first & second – Spanish music wild & plaintive – muletiers [–] Guards & females began dancing –

[*p. [62]*]

Jacobs traces[?][73]

Sides of the Hills round Grenada abound with caves – inhabited at present by Gypsies –

Generaliffe – Floors of rooms of marble There streams of purest water rushing thro them –

Garden with orange lemon & cypress trees – chrystal fountains – pools shady groves.

The Darro is a mere mountain torrent runs thro the city & empties itself into the Xenel[74] near the city – the united streams fertilize the plain & empty into the Guadalquivier

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Road to alhambra thro' a wood of lofty elms mixed with poplars & oleanders – Marble fountains by the side of the path –

71. Partially obliterated by an ink blot.
72. The Guadalquivir is the largest river in Andalusia and flows into the Atlantic.
73. "Jacobs" is unidentified.
74. The Genil (arch. Xenil) river which the Moors called "Shenîl."

[*p. [63]*]
turrets & gilded cupolas – the Summit crowned with the alhambra – back ground Sierra Nevada – covered with snow

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Libraries – That of the Monastary of St. ⟨Ildof⟩ Idelfondo[75] 16000 vols. of old Books
Royal Library of Madrid 200,000 –

Mohammed Geber of Seville on Astronomy[76]
Abuhagen,[77] Geber[78] & Mugaribus[79] on Chemistry & Alchemy –

Arabian libraries at Seville & Cordova during the time of the Moors – The library of Grenada almost equalled that of Cordova

Dancing group – Guitar & Castanetts [–] Moorish music, consisted of soft & tender airs sung by one or more voices, and accompanied by the lute –

[*p. [64]*]
Spanish dress
Bodice or corset – very short petticoat scarcely reaching below the instep [–] mantila on the head
tight sleeves to the wrist with 5 or 6 little buttons [–] Basquina[80] – black ornamented with gold & embroidery & trimmed with coloured ribbands
Hairs in *redezilla*[81] or bag of silk or thread netting – usually black but sometimes of other colours

Coquettish art of Spanish ladies, lifting up the mantila with Care & shewing fine black eyes

Slender leg & pretty foot peeping from under the basquina

Andalusia formerly comprehended the Kingdms of Jaca, Cordova, Grenada & Seville. the last has exclusively retained the name –

75. San Ildefonso in the province of Segovia in central Spain, where Philip V had built a royal summer residence.
76. The eighth-century Arabian alchemist of n. 46.
77. Unidentified.
78. Geber or Jabir, identified in n. 46.
79. Unidentified.
80. Basquiña, the outer skirt.
81. Redecilla, a hair-net.

Most of the houses in Grenada are embellished with fountains – some fall into cisterns [–] some spout into the air & fall in dew

[*p. [65]*]
Mem. What were the deaths of the principal ornaments of grace? (Athens in particular)[82]

Generalife or Xeneralife[83] – air mild & pure

The vega surrounded by ↑magnificent↓ ampitheatre of Hills – Vines – mulberry olive, orange lemon – air perfumed – well watered with 5 Rivers – springs & brooks of pure water – oaks of great beauty – in some places fórests impenetrable to the sun

Antonio[84] seated at window of the tower looking out upon the landscape – music – groups of peasants dancing – blue hills – orange blossoms – birds – ⟨the lover ha⟩ dreams of a young man – how he could ⟨love⟩ live among those groves – and live his life away with Inez – –
Watch the whistling muleteer –

heat of the air tempered by brooks, ⟨river⟩ fountains & rivers about Granada

[*p. [66]*]
Andalusians talk much of themselves [–] of their merit, wealth &c &c – they are the Gascons of Spain[85] – ⟨al⟩ boastful ⟨women⟩ country of boasters – speak in high tones, bully, fawn, swagger, dress different from others – coxcombs calld ⟨sag⟩ – Majos[86] –
women – free air, easy turn, noble mien, lively eye, ⟨arch⟩ & pleasing smile[,] slender shape, neat feet, light & elegant dress – harmonious voice – softness &c –

Andalusia formerly the refuge of the Gitanos[87] – vagabonds –

Andalusian women well made – fine dancers –

Men smoke much.

82. The entry, "Mem. . . . particular," written in pencil, interrupts Irving's notations.
83. Two spellings of the name.
84. Probably a servant.
85. The natives of Gascony have a reputation for assurance and braggadocio.
86. Braggarts or bullies.
87. Gypsies.

Associations of Nobility to keep up the ancient spirit of Chivalry [–] *Maestranzas* one at Grenada – at Sevilla & at Ronda[88]

[*p. [67]*]

Ascent to the alhambra – nightingales in day time

Near to the Alhambra is mannor of the grove And not far from this on the declivity of the hill looking to the west & commanding prospect of city is the ancient castle with its hanging ⟨gardens⟩ Gardens furnished with numerous fountains & delightful shade

Near Granada the Hills are cultivated with vines

From the sunburnt Hill to the moist & shady valley where the Darro & the Xenil wanderd among ⟨vineyards⟩ groves of oranges & Lemons

[*p. [68] blank*]

[*p. [69]*]

Col. Wakefield says that the Washington family emigrated from Thorn, in the neighbourhood of Doncaster – Yorkshire & I understand that traces of them are preserved in the churchyd. in ye monumental form

Monthly [⟨unrecovered⟩] Mag.
Octr 1821[89]

My mother kept running a/c with the village confectioner & apothecary – we were feasted & physicked –

⟨It is a wonder a⟩ We grew up a puny race at which I wonder ⟨for⟩ no children ought to have been healthier for we almost lived on Physick –

They were always sick & it was a wonder for they were the best physicked children in the whole village[90]

88. Maestranza, a society of noblemen for encouraging the art of horsemanship. Irving explains the term in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 239). The entries from "Alchemy" (p. 348) to "Ronda" are written in ink.

89. Copied with slight variations in spelling and punctuation from a collection of anecdotes by the late Alexander Stephens, Esq. of Park House, Chelsea, in *The Monthly Magazine* (London), no. 360 (November 1, 1821), 328, entitled "General Washington's Father and Mr. Jefferson."

90. The entries "My mother . . . village" are typical of Irving's humorous comments on practices of his childhood.

[*p. [70]*]
Haslewood ⟨treatise⟩ some ingenious & elaborate disquisition on Hawking Hunting & fishing. Censura Literaria 9 & 10th vols.[91]

In this bow window you will see a great quantity of stained glass of the difft arms of his own & his wifes family &c And when the evening sunbeams throw a checquered light throughout the room, 'tis pleasant to observe how Orlando enjoys the opening of an Aldine Greek Classic – the ample-margined leaves of which receive a mellower tint from the soft lustre that pervades the library. Every book, whether opened or closed, is benefitted by this due portion of light, so that the eye, in wandering over the numerous shelves is neither hurt by morning glare nor Evening gloom. Of colour, in his furniture, he is very sparing, he considers white shelves picked out with gold, as heretical, mahogany wainscot, black & red are what he calls [*p. [71]*] orthodox colours. He has a few busts and vases & as his room is very lofty, he admits above, in black & gold frames, a few portraits of Eminent literary characters; & whenever he gets a genuine Vandyke or Velasquez, he congratulates himself exceedingly upon his good fortune

Dibdins Bibliom
vol 1
P 141[92]

Binding richly
The famous Textus Sancti Cuthberti was adorned in the Saxon times by Bilfrith a monk of Durham with silver cover gilt & precious stones.
In the ↑secret↓ jewel hous of the tower – A booke of gold enameled, clasped with a ⟨rubey⟩ rubie having on th‘ ⟨side⟩ one syde, a crosse of Dyamonts & 6 other dyamonts & on th‘ other syde a flower de luce of Dyamonts and 4 rubies with a pendaunte of white saphires & the arms of Englande. Which booke is garnished with ⟨a⟩ small emer-

91. The first of some entries taken from Thomas Frognall Dibdin's *Bibliomania; or Book Madness: A Bibliographical Romance, in Six Parts* (London, 1811), p. 729. It is part of a footnote that called Irving's attention to Haslewood's treatises in Brydges' *Censura Literaria.*

Irving met Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges (1762–1837) on May 29, 1824, and saw much of him in Paris in 1825. He depended upon *Censura Literaria* (1805–1809) for material for "Falconry" and "Hawking," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 134–48). See Irving's letter of November 8, 1821, to Leslie: "In the 9th & 10th vols. of the 'Censura Literaria' are elaborate disquisitions on Hawking and Hunting by Hazlewood–" (*Letters*, I, 655). These articles, merely signed "J. H.," are by Joseph Haslewood (1769–1833), distinguished for his antiquarian studies, who was an occasional contributor to Brydges' publications. Irving refers to Dibdin's work in "A Literary Antiquary," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 114–15).

92. Aside from differences in punctuation and minor omissions Irving's extract is an exact quotation from Dibdin's *Bibliomania*, pp. 141–42.

[*p. [72]*] ades & rubies hanging to a cheyne pillar fashion, set with 15 knottes, every one conteyning 3 rubies.

Archæologia 13.
p 220[93]
Dibdin

Theatrum Chemicum[94]

I am willing to admit every degree of merit to the manual dexterity of the cloistered student. I admire his snow white vellum missals, emblazoned with gold & sparkling with carmine & ultramarine blue. By the help of the microscopic glass I peruse his diminutive penmanship, executed with the most astonishing neatness & regularity ⟨& often⟩ glossy black ink *&c* –

– Monks afterwards devoted themselves to objects of a more general & interesting nature –

A gradale or Grail is a book which ought to have in it the office of sprinkling holy water – the verses of gloria in excelsis &c &c &c[95]

[*p. [73]*]

Roger or Friar Bacon – a constellation of the very first splendour and magnitude in the dark times in which he lived[96]

Only let us imagine we see this sharp-eyed philo[sophe]r at work in his study – How heedlessly did he hear the murmuring of the stream beneath & of the winds without – immersed in ye vellum & parch[men]t rolls of theological, astrological & mathematical lore, which upon the dispersion of ye ⟨jews⟩ libraries of ye Jews he was constantly perusing & of which so large a share had fallen to his own lot Unfortunately little is known with certainty, tho much is vaguely conjectured of the labors of this great man.

Dibdins Bibliomania[97]

Lissardo was placed at College upon the most respectable footing. He wore the velvet cap and enjoyed the rustling of the tassels upon his

93. Irving copied this extract from *Bibliomania*, p. 156, where the text is credited to *Archæologia*, XIII, 220. Irving copied extensively from the latter journal. See pp. 367–69.

94. Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), an English antiquary who gave his collection of curiosities to Oxford University, published the *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), which contained a collection of ancient English poetical pieces relating to alchemy. This title is discussed in *Bibliomania*, p. 389.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 198–99. Irving does not follow the precise sequence, but paraphrases and condenses.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 239.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 241–42.

silk gown as he paraded the high street of Oxford. xxx He rode high mettled horses: he shot with a gun which would have delighted an Indian Prince, he drank freely out of cut glasses, which were manufactured according to his own particular taste, & wines of all colours & qualities sparkled upon his table. He would occasionally stroll into the Bodleian library & picture gallery in order to know whether any acquisitions had been recently made to them; & attended the Concerts when any performers came down from London –

Dibdin Biblio –.[98]

He scrambled through his terms; took his degree; celebrated his anniversary of twenty one, by drenching his native village in ale which had been brewed at his birth[;] added two wings to his fathers house, launched out into coin & picture collectg[,] bought fine books with fine bindings, then sold all his coins & pictures; and at the age of ⟨25⟩ twenty five, began to read and [*p. [75]*] think & act for himself –

Idem.[99]

Man not so successful in printing upon vellum, as they were formerly – excepting the works from the press of Bodoni, which are oftentimes truly brilliant. – Fault is in the preparation of the vellum

I have sat whole hours in contemplating with rapture the sparkling radiance of these little volumes (small volumes of Heures or missals⟨()⟩ as they are called⟨()⟩ some in Ms. others in print) what can be more delicate than the texture of the vellum leaves, or more perfect than the execution of the penmanship & printing? –

Idem[100]

The italian vellum is made of the abortive calf, & ⟨some⟩ more delicate & white than any other[101] –

[*p. [76]*]

"A German Magazine recently announced the death of a schoolmaster in Swabia, who, for 51 years had superintended a large institution with old fashioned severity. From an average, inferred by means of recorded observations, one of the ushers had calculated, that, in the course of his exertions he had given 911,500 canings, 121,000 floggings, 209,000 castodes, 136,000 tips with the ruler, 10,200 boxes on the ear & 22,700 tasks by heart. It was further calculated, that he had made 700 boys stand

98. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 280–81.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 697; in part paraphrased or condensed.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 697; footnote paraphrased.

on peas, 6000 kneel on a sharp edge of wood, 5000 wear the fools cap & 1,700 hold the rod. How vast (exclaims the journalist,) the quantity of human misery inflicted by a single perverse educator."

Dibdin Biblioman.[102]

[*One leaf torn out, between pp. [76–77]*]

[*p. [77]*]

KNOWLE. Appartments many, but not large – the furniture throughout, ancient magnificence; loads of portraits, ebony cabinets[,] embossed silver in vases – dishes. Embroidd. beds, stiff chairs – sweet bags lying on velvet tables richly worked in silk & gold Two galleries one very small, an old hall & a great spacious drawing room.

Walpoles letters[103]

Surreys portrait, in various parts of Engd.
Hurst Monceaux – built in the time of Henry 6. and is as perfect as the first day –

Walpoles Letts[104]

In it is the Drummers-Hall. Mr. Addisons comedy is supposed to be descended from it.[105]

[*p. [78]*]
Penshurst[106]

Welbeck in Yorkshire – fine old Hall – old portraits &c[107]

102. *Ibid.*, p. 375. A paragraph Dibdin took from *The Observer*. The passage "Lissardo . . .Biblioman." is written in ink.

103. From Walpole's letter from Battel, dated August 5, 1752, to Richard Bentley (letter no. 353 in *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee [Oxford, 1904], III, 109). Knowle Park was the seat of the duke of Dorset. Irving condensed the selection somewhat.

104. Two portraits of the earl of Surrey, the poet, are mentioned in this letter. He was Henry Howard (ca. 1517–1547), eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, executed for high treason. Hurst Monceaux, a fifteenth-century fortified mansion, is about ten miles from Hastings. See *ibid.*, III, 110–11, 114. Irving refers to portraits of the earl of Surrey and quotes tributes to this nobleman in "Gentility," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 162–63).

105. Irving's paraphrase. Addison's prose comedy is entitled *The Drummer* (1716). See *Walpole*, III, 115.

106. Penshurst, not far from Tunbridge, had a fine picture gallery. See *ibid.*, III, 117–18.

107. From Walpole's letter from Wentworth Castle, dated August, 1756, to Richard Bentley (letter no. 487 in *ibid.*, III, 447).

[*p. [79]*]
"The Tower-guns have sworn through thick & thin that Prince Ferdinand has entirely demolished the French, and the City – bonfires all believe it. However, as no officer is yet come, nor confirmation, my crackers suspend their belief –" Walpoles letters to Jno Chute Esqr.[108]

"The good old Queen (of France 1765) who is like Lady Primrose in the face, and Queen Caroline in the immensity of her cap, is at her dressing table, attended by two or three old ladies, who are languishing to be in Abrahams bosom, as the only mans bosom to whom they can hope for admittance."[109]

HIGHWAYMEN – We see by the excess of Highwaymen how far evils will go before any attempt is made to cure them. I am sure, from the magnitude of this inconvenience that I am not talking merely like an old man. I have lived here above 30 years (Strawberry Hill) & used to go every where round at all hours of the night without any precaution. I cannot now stir a mile from my own house after sunset without one or two servants, with blunderbusses.

H.W Letters 1782[110]

[*p. [80] blank*]

[*p. [81]*]
Being in some joviall Company abroad and coming late to our Lodging, we were suddenly surprized by a crew of Filous of night ⟨of⟩ rogues, who drew upon us and as we had exchanged some blows, it pleas'd God, the Chevalier de Guet, an officer, who goes up & down the Streets all night – a[-]horseback – to prevent disorders; passed by, & so rescued us; but Jack White was hurt, and I had two thrusts in my cloak. Theres never a night passeth but some robbing or murther is committed in this town, so that it is not safe to go late anywhere, specially about the Pont Neuf, the New bridge, though Henry the Great

108. From Walpole's letter from Strawberry Hill, dated June 29, 1758, to John Chute, Esq. (letter no. 573 in *ibid.*, IV, 152). This entry and the following extracts are written in ink.

109. From Walpole's letter from Paris, dated October 3, 1765, to John Chute, Esq. (letter no. 1056 in *ibid.*, VI, 310). Irving also copied this passage into his "Notes and Extracts, 1823." See *Works*, III, 623.

110. From Walpole's letter from Strawberry Hill, dated October 3, 1782 , to the earl of Strafford (letter no. 2358 in *Walpole*, XII, 342–43). The official text has "about 30 years."

himself lies Centinel there in Arms, upon a huge Florentine Horse, and sits bare to every one that passeth; an improper posture me thinks to a King on horseback.

Howells Letters
Published 1645[111]

[*p. [82]*]

Though it be the same glorious Sun that shines upon you in England, which illuminates also this part of the Hemisphere; though it be the same sun that ripneth your pippins, and our pomgranats, your Hops and our Vineyards here, yet he dispenseth his heat in different degrees of Strength, those rayes that do but warm you in England, do half roast us here; those beams that irradiate only and ⟨beautif⟩ guild your Honey-suckled fields, do scoreh and pareh this chinky gaping Soyl, and so put too many wrineles upon the face of our common Mother the earth. O blessed Clime, O happy England, where there is such a rare temperature of heat and cold, and all the rest of Elementary qualities, that one may passe (and suffer little) all the year long – without either shade in Summer, or fire in Winter.

I am now in Valentia, one of the noblest cities of all Spain, situat in a large Vegua or Valley, above threescore miles compasse; here are the strongest [*p. [83]*] Silks, the sweetest Wines, the excellent'st almonds, the best Oyls, & beautifull'st Femals of all of Spain, for the prime Curtisans in Madrid, and else where are had hence. The very bruit Animals make themselves beds of rosemary, and other fragrant flowers hereabouts; and when one is at Sea if the winde blow from the Shore, he may smell this Soyl before he come in sight of it many leagues off, by the strong odoriferous Sent it casts; As it is the most pleasant, so is it also the temperat'st Clime of all Spain, and they commonly call it the Second Italy, which made the Moors, whereof many thousands were disterr'd and banished hence to Barbary, to think that Paradise was in that part of the heavens which hung over this Citey.

James Howells Letters[112]

111. From Howell's letter from Paris, dated May I, 1620, to Richard Altham, Esq. (letter no. 17 in *Epistolæ Ho-elianæ: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, ed. Joseph Jacobs [London, 1892], I, sect. 1, p. 45). James Howell (1593–1666), whose *Familiar Letters* (1645) went through many editions in the century after their appearance, became royal historiographer to Charles I in 1661. Slight variations in the text, in spelling and punctuations, occurring in these extracts, result in part from Irving's use of a different edition.

112. From Howell's letter from Valentia, dated March 1, 1620, to Dr. Fr. Mansel (letter no. 24 in *Howell*, I, sect. 1, pp. 58–59). Part of this letter is given as a footnote in "The Student of Salamanca," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 230).

It is a rare kind of Knowledge & chymestry to transmute Dust & Sand (for they are the only main ingredients) to such a diaphonous pellucid dainty body as you see a chrystal glasse is, which hath this property
[*p. [84]*]
above Gold or Silver or any other mineral to admit no poyson; as also in that it never wastes nor looseth a whit of its first weight, though you use it never so long. When I saw so many sorts of curious glasses made here, I thought upon the complement which a gentleman put upon a Lady in England, who having five or six comely Daughters, said, "He never saw in his life such a dainty Cupboard of Chrystall glasses."

Venetian Saying. "The first handsome woman that ever was made, was made of Venice Glasse." – which implies beauty, but brittleness withal.[113] –

From Venice. Randle Sims[114] made us a curious feast lately, wher in a cup of the richest Greek we had your health, and I could not tell whether the wine or the remembrance of you was sweeter; for it was naturally a kind of aromatic wine, which left a fragrant perfuming Kind of farewell behind it. I have sent you a Runelet of it in the ship Lion –

Idem[115]

[*p. [85]*]
Haddon Hall[116]

[*p. [86]*]

British factors in Naples says Howell, live in better Equipage & more splendid manner than their masters and Principales in London, they ruffle in silks & sattins & wear good Spanish leather shooes, while their Masters shooes upon our Exchange in London, shine with blacking.

Howells Letters[117]

You know running waters are the purest, so they that traverse the world up and down have the clearest understandings; being faithfull

113. From Howell's letter from Venice, dated June 1, 1621, to his brother (letter no. 29 in *Howell*, I, sect. I, pp. 67–68). Irving also copied virtually all of this passage into his "Notes and Extracts," 1823. See *Works*, III, 623.

114. Randal Symns.

115. From Howell's letter from Venice, dated August 12, 1621, to Robert Brown, Esq. (letter no. 36 in *Howell*, I, sect. 1, p. 79). This letter and the following ones are written in ink.

116. Written in pencil in upper right of an otherwise blank page, showing only marks in ink from following page. Irving described his visit to Haddon Hall on pp. 338–41.

117. Paraphrased from Howell's letter from Naples, dated October 1, 1621, to Sir T. H. Knight (letter no. 39 in *Howell*, I, sect. 1, p. 87).

eye witnesses of those things whieh others recieve but in trust, whereunto they must yield an intuitive consent and a kind of implieit faith.

Idem –[118]

Smoothness of the Italian tongue eaused one to say "That when the eonfusion of toungs happen'd at the building of the tower of Babel, if the Italian had been there, Nimrod had made him a playsterer.["][119]

The Walloon is quiek and spritfull, acostable and full of complement, and gawdy in apparell like his next neighbor the Freneh: The Flemin & Brabanter, somewhat more slow and more sparing [*p. [87]*] in speeeh: the Hollander slower than he, more surly and respeetles of Gentry and Strangers, homely in his eloathing, of very few words, and heavie in action.[120]

Duke of Epernon – Little Gaseon Dukes the oldest souldier of France (Fiery little old soldier)[121]

Italian saying. *Inglese Italionato, è Diavolo incarnato* –
An Englishman italianized is a devil incarnate.

Howell[122]

To Sir *Kenhelme Digby*. I eould not reeover your diamond hatband which the ⟨Piekaroon⟩ Piearoon snatehed from you in the Coach, though I used all means possible, as far as bell, book, & candle in point of Excommunieation agst. the party in all the churches of Madrid, by whieh means you know divers things are recover'd.[123]

Spanish Don – His gravity is mueh lessened since the late proelamation eame out agst ruffs, and the king himself shew'd the first example, they were come to that height of excess herein, that 20 shillings were

118. From Howell's letter from Naples, dated October 8, 1621, to Christopher Jones, Esq. (letter no. 40 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 1, p. 88).

119. From Howell's letter from Turin, dated November 30, 1621, to Captain Francis Bacon (letter no. 42 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 1, p. 95). "Playsterer" is an archaic spelling for "plasterer."

120. From Howell's letter from Antwerp, dated May 1, 1622, to Lord Viscount Colchester (letter no. 15 in *ibid.*, sect. 2, p. 128).

121. From Howell's letter from Orleans, dated March 5, 1622, to Sir James Crofts (letter no. 24 in *ibid.*, I, sect 2, p. 141). The comment in parentheses is Irving's, based on content of letter.

122. From Howell's letter from London, dated March 24, 1622, to the Honourable Mr. John Savage (letter no. 2 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 3, p. 146).

123. From Howell's letter from Madrid, n.d., to Sir Kenelme Digby (letter no. 30 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 3, p. 193).

usd to be paid for starching of a ruff: and some, though perhaps he had never a shirt to his back, yet would he have a toting huge swelling ruff about his neck.[124]

[*p. [88]*]
Chaucer was imprisond in Yẽ tower[125]

There is a saying that to make a compleat Woman, let her be English to the neck, French to the waist & Dutch below – I may add, for hands & feet let her be Spanish, for they have the least of any – They have another saying, A Frenchwoman in a dance, a Dutchwoman in the Kitchen, an Italian at a window, an Englishwoman at board & the Spanish a[-]bed.

Howels letters[126]

One should never teach his letter or his Laquay to lie.

idem[127]

I send you herewith a couple of red deare pies I pray let the Sydonian Merchant Jno Bruckhurst be at the eating of them & then I know they will be well soaked.[128]

The King (of Denmark) feasted my Lord (of Leicester) once & it lasted from ↑eleven↓ 11 of the clock till towards the Evening, during which time the King began 35 healths; the first to the Emperour, the second to his nephew of Engd. & so went over all the Kings & Queens of Christendom &c &c The King was taken away at last in his chair; but my lord of Leicester bore up stoutly all the while, so that when there came two of the Kings guard to take him by the arms as he was going down the stairs, my Lord shook them off & went alone.

Howells Letts[129]

124. From Howell's letter from Madrid, dated February 1, 1623, to Lord Viscount Colchester (letter no. 32 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 3, p. 201).

125. An interpolated notation in pencil in a somewhat larger hand than Irving usually writes, at top of page. No evidence can be found that Chaucer was imprisoned. Perhaps Irving erred because Chaucer's name is linked with the Tower through his appointment by Richard II as "Clerk of our Works at our Palace of Westminster, our Tower of London . . . " (G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and His England* [London, 1930], p. 60).

126. From Howell's letter cited in note 124, p. 203.

127. From Howell's letter from [London], dated February 27, 1625, to Richard Altham, Esq. (letter no. 11 in *Howell*, I, sect. 4, p. 224).

128. From Howell's letter from York, dated July 9, 1627, to Mr. Richard Leat (letter no. 2 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 5, p. 248).

129. From Howell's letter from Hamburgh, dated October 9, 1632, to Lord Viscount S. (letter no. 2 in *ibid.*, I, sect. 6, p. 295). Irving supplied the identifica-

[*p. [89]*]

Beauchamps Tower

Melancholy account of prisoners.[130]

– Thomas Duke of Norfolk ⟨unha⟩ who probably escaped death by death of Hen[r]y 8. In ↑his↓ petition to the Lords ⟨of the⟩ ↑from the↓ tower of London requests (favor) ↑to have↓ some of the bookes which are now at Lambeth – for says he, unless I have books to read, ere I fall asleep, & after I wake again, I cannot sleep nor have done these dozen years

– Begs to hear Mass – the parson may say it in ye adjoing & Chamber

Arms curiously carved of John Dudley duke of Northumbd. His father had been put to death by Henry 8. He however became a great favorite – In subsequent reign he was creatd Earl of Warwick & made Lord chamberlain Creatd Duke of Northumd 1561 – Endeavored to aggrandize his family by destroyg settlement made by H[enr]y 8 whereby Mary & Eliz were to succeed upon failure of issue in Edwd. 6, in favour of Jane Gray of the house of Suffolk & lately married to Guilford Dudley *his younger son*[131]

This lady he & his adherents proclaimed &c

[*p. [90]*]

He was arrested at Cambridge July 25, 1553. Conductd to Tower and beheaded 22 Aug foll[owin]g – He must have carved this in less than a month – The inscription *unfinished*

⟨Am⟩ Royal title of the amiable & unfort[unat]e Lady Jane Gray –

On wall she wrote with a pin

Non aliena putes homini quae obtingere possunt
Sors hodierna mihi cras erit illa tibi[132]

No vestiges of the inscription

Autograph of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel & son of Thos Howard duke of Norfolk, beheaded 1572 –

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tions in parentheses from early account of the letter. The four citations from Howell's letters are written in ink.

130. These observations of Irving introduce lengthy extracts from an "Account of Inscriptions discovered on the Walls of an Apartment in the Tower of *London*. By the Rev. John Brand, Secretary," identified at the end of these entries. Irving quoted, paraphrased, and condensed from this thirty-one page article, not always accurately. See *Archæologia*, XIII, 68–69.

131. The text reads "youngest son."

132. The text includes the translation: "To mortals' common fate thy mind resign,/My lot to-day, to-morrow may be thine."

He lay here 4 years before brot to trial 1589 – reprieved from time to time till he died in the Tower 1595 aged about 40[133]

[*p. [91]*]

Dod says he was ⟨of an⟩ very tall – swarthy an agreeable mixture of sweetness & grandeur in his ⟨person⟩ countenance – he had a soul superior to all human considerations[134]

In part now converted into Kitchen were ye following in old Italian

Dispoi che vore La
Fortuna che ba mea
Speransa va al ven –
to pianger Ho volio
El Tempo Perduto
E Semper Stel me
Tristo e Discontèto
Wilim Tyrrel 1541[135]

No ac/t of Wm Tyrrel. The above melancholy inscription seems to imply that the person who made it had been condemned & was impatient for the day of his execution. It is one [*p. [92]*] of those genuine effusions of anguish which may be stiled, in the pathetic language of the Book of Psalms,

The sorrowful sighing of the prisoner

Astrological Sphere

Hew Draper of Brystow made thys spher the 30 Days of Maye anno 1561.

particulars ⟨from⟩

Hugh Draper committed the 21st of March 1560.

This man was brought in by the accusation of one John Man an astronomer as a suspect of a Conjurer or Sorcerer & thereby to practise

133. Philip Howard, first earl of Arundel (1557–1595), eldest son of the fourth duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572, spent the last nine years of his life in the Tower.

134. Charles Dodd (1672–1743), whose real name was Hugh Tootel, was a Catholic divine and the author of the three volume work, *The Church History of England, from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688* (Brussels, 1737–1742). The misspelling of the author's name actually occurs on this page from which Irving copied.

135. A footnote gives the following translation from "a learned member of this society:"

Since fortune hath chosen that my hope
Should go to the wind to complain: I wish
The time were destroyed: my planet being ever
Sorrowful and discontented.

matter againste Sr. William St Lowe & my ladie. And in his eonfession it aperithe that before time he hathe been busie and doinge with sueh matters. But he denieth any matter of weight toueliing Sr [*p. [93]*] Wm Scntlo or my ladie, & also affirmeth yt long sinec he so misliked his seience that he burned all his bookes.

Hc is presently ⟨very⟩ veric sicke, hc semithe to be a man of goode wealthe and kepethe a taverne in Bristowe, and is of his neighbours well reported.

Paper by ↑Revd. John↓ Brand – in Arehaologia vol 13[136]

Aneiently a eonvent of nuns in the Street now ealled ye Minories – called the rich Clares – fragments of walls sometimes found

I have heard also reports of stone coffins & buried plate diseovered in the cellars; but of these facts I could never get a particular & authentie aeeountg

Archael vol 15 –

Communieated in a letter of:
Henry Fly, D.D. &e to Revd Jno Brand Seety[137]

[*p. [94]*]

A Man will sometimes pretend to watch thro St. Mark's night in the poreh of the ehureh. I do not think this has ever been aetually done in the last 50 yrs. but the person supposed to have made the vigil, & to have seen the parishioners who must die that year pass him in their usual dress, is a terror to his neighbours, for on the least offense reed. he is apt by significant hints & grimaces to insinuate the speedey death of some cherished friend or relative.

Arehaelogi Vol 17 –

[*p. [95]*]
West riding of Yorkshire –
On St. Marks eve some young women follow the aneient method of sowing hempseed, othcrs prepare the dumb cake with ingredients traditionally suggested in a witehes doggrel

An Egg shell full of salt
An — —— — — malt
— — —— — — Barley meal

136. *Archæologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity,* XIII (1800), 68–99. The entries from "–Thomas . . . reported" are extracts from this paper.

137. Irving's paraphrase and extract from pp. 93 and 113 of Henry Fly's paper, "Some Account of an Abbey of Nuns . . .," *Archæologia,* XV (1806), 93–113.

When prepared it is put in the pan for baking. At the proper time a young man, who is to be the votarys husband comes to turn the cake & retires. The ⟨cake must be prepared in silence⟩ – all must be supperless & keep silence ⟨which ever⟩ whatever appears – otherwise direful consequences

– Do begin day fast from morng & go to bed backwards in profound silence. – See their future Husb[and]s cross the room or dream of them[138]

[*p. [96]*]

West Riding

Merry night – A rustic ball in farm houses about X'ms. Young people cannot be kept from them The Amusement is ↑athletic↓ dancing, maskers, mimics, gesticulators – sword dance. – Tea, cakes, fruit, strong ale, punch – kissing – romping &c – break up at midnight –

Archaelogi- 17[139]

Dobbies or Demons attached to particular houses or farms. Though naturally lazy but work hard for ↑advantage of↓ family, stack all the hay or house all the corn in one night

Farmers horses are left to rest & stags or other wild animals are supposed to fulfill the orders of the Demon.

Some of the Dobbies are contented to stay in out houses with the cattle but others will only dwell among human [*p. [97]*] beings. The latter thot to be fond of heat, but when the hearth cools it is said they frisk & racket about the house.

Dobby follows the family when it shifts habitation –

The Dobbies residing in lone granges or barns & near antiquated Towers ⟨or barns⟩ bridges &c have diff character from house demons. Benighted travellers are endangerd by passing their haunts for as grave legends assure us, an angry sprite will sometimes jump behind a horseman & compress him so tightly that he either perishes before he can reach his home, or falls into some lingering & direful malady.

Paper by Robt Willan
M.D. F.R.S. & S.A.
June 1811[140]

138. From Robert Willan's paper, "A List of Ancient Words at present used in the mountainous District of the West Riding of Yorkshire," *Archæologia*, XVII, 138–67. These extracts are on p. 166. Irving used some details of these extracts in his "St. Mark's Eve" and "Love-Charms," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See, *Works*, IV, 149–160, 175.

139. *Archæologia* XVII, p. 152. Somewhat shortened and paraphrased. Irving utilized this information in a footnote in "Ready-Money Jack," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 68).

140. *Archæologia*, XVII, p. 144. Somewhat shortened. These household goblins, called Dobbies, are discussed in "Popular Superstitions," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 411–14).

Near the rugged hills of Westmoreland & in the adjoining border of Yorkshire[141]

[*p. [98]*]

Bar-Guest a Spirit or demon attached to a town or village and said to howl dreadfully at midnight before any general calamity.[142]

Rantry – Mountain ash – a branch suspended with the red berries being thought sufficient to guard a family ag[ain]st witchcraft.[143]

Weather gleam to see a man – animal, tree &c on ridge of a lofty Hill so that the body shall appear in the sky – Man looks gigantic.[144]

Nay, nay – cherish old Servants
Theyre like rats in a house or mites in a cheese
They bespeak the antiquity of their Manors ↑habitation↓
and the Goodness of their abode[145]

[*p. [99]*]

Selden says there never was a merry world since the Faries left dancing and the parson left conjuring. The opinion of the latter kept thieves in awe, and did as much good in a country as a justice of Peace –

Note to Brands Antq.[146]

It is customary in Yorkshire for the com: people to sit & watch in the church porch on S' Mark's Eve (25 April) from 11 oclock at night till 1 in ye morng. The 3 Year (for this must be done thrice) they are supposed to see the ghosts of all those who are to die the next year pass by into the church. When any one sickens that is thot to have been seen in this manner, it is presently whispered that he will not recover, for that such or such an one who has watched St. Marks eve says so.

This superstition has such force, that, if the patients themselves hear of it they almost despair of recovery. Many are said to have actually

141. *Archæologia*, XVII, p. 138.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 140. These definitions of terms are compiled like a dictionary. Irving often copied only the essentials.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

144. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

145. Upside down at bottom of page. See Irving's epigraph to the chapter "Family Servants," in *Bracebridge Hall*: Verily old servants are the vouchers of worthy housekeeping. They are like rats in a mansion, or mites in a cheese, bespeaking the antiquity and fatness of their abode.

146. John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities: Including the Whole of Mr. Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares, with Addenda . . .* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1777), p. 143. Later editions are expanded and revised by editors and include this passage in the chapter "Ghosts, or Apparitions." See edition by Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1853), III, 80.

died by their imaginary fears on the occasion; a truly lamentable but by no means incredible, instance of human folly –

⟨Browne⟩ Brand[147]

[*p. [100] blank, showing mirror image of writing in ink from previous page*]

[*p. [101]*]

March – Throstle – bold & pleasing songster sweet & round lays second only to the nightingale

Linnet & gold finch – golden crowned wren –

Rooks build & repair their nests

Field Wrens [?] depart[x] & red wing

[x]for Russia Sweden Norway & Sibiria[148]

Lark Sings – flutters over its ⟨nest⟩ young – teaching them – notes gain strength as he ascends [–] larks love their notes & grow fat towards ⟨winter⟩ ↑3 months before Xmas↓ Christmas

Trouts begin to rise – the bat flits about – pigeons set – green finch sings – frogs rise

20 the Vernal Equinox – the sallow enlivens the hedges – the alder have their flowers full blown – the [*p. [102]*] laurustinres & bay begin to open their leaves –

– Gardens begin to assume cheerfulness ⟨crocus⟩ Crocuses exhibiting a rich mixture of yellow & purple ornament the borders – ⟨Margaroons⟩ Daisies "with silver crest & golden eye –" Primerose peeps ⟨out⟩ from beneath the hedge – "within the hedge the sparrow lays her sky stained eggs" Bidlake[149]

leaves of Honeysuckles are nearly intwinded – buds of Hawthorn & larch begin to open – Ivy berries are ripe – Sweet violet

Towards the close of the month the bees venture out of their hives

Towards close of month – yellow butterfly – Black beetles fly about

147. Though not included in the first edition, Brand's *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1853) gives Irving's text with slight changes (I, 192–93). Irving used some of these details in "St. Mark's Eve," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 149). The passage, "It . . . Brand," is written in ink.

148. Irving begins observations on spring in England. He attached the footnote.

149. Presumably a quotation from one of the three volumes of poetical works of John Bidlake (1755–1814), not accessible. "Alders," "sallows," and "laurustinres" are shrubs; "margaron" is one French name for marguerites or daisies.

the carriage – roach & dace float near surface of water. Daffodils [*p. [103]*] are in flower – Sparrows build – young lambs ycaned

April [1822]
Swallow arrives about middle of month
fields white with dasies
Hawthorne bursts with tender green – Harebell along the rivulets in copse – Dill &c
– Oaks are budding & beneath the Hawthorn will soon bear the silver wreath of May.
– The chimney swallow
– House martin – under eaves
– Sand martin
– Swift in steeples – high towers &c
– Cuckow in Glostershire 17 April wren
Cowslip – Cuckowflower

[*p. [104] blank*]

[*p. [105]*]
For his soul pleased the Lord: therefore hasted he to take him away from among the wicked.

Wisdom of Solomon C4, v14.[150]

It is customary[151]
And much she shard to meager days
[*unrecovered*] house folk [*unrecovered*]

her bread was better than of wheat[152]

[*p. [106]*]
had little return – Oh no moan – led Phoebe sobbing – Oh no more – I beg youl let me stay – I like to hea[r] ⟨her⟩ them – Lady all about lover – Lady Lilly consentd. The capt. smiled & proce[eded.]
– ⟨When the Story was done⟩
The latter part of the story ⟨was interrupted occasionally by the⟩ had come after a the hearers – or talk of wedding preparations the bride blushed & lookd concerned – the late part of the story was repeatdly interrupted by the sobs & breathg of Phoebe Wilkins who had left her work & sat by Miss Templetons chair she

150. Citation from the Apocrypha.
151. Written in ink.
152. Three lines upside down in faint pencil at bottom of page.

The story was done[.] she sat sobbing like a child. ⟨Good⟩ Go take the book to my room child said Lady Lillycraft dont cry so much. I met many said dear Phoebe but I can't help it but[153]

[*p. [107]*]
May day – Radical – disputes with Master Simon & the Genl. –
Old citizen drives in equipage to the village – thinks the Morris dancers ought to be taken up as vagrants –
Squabble with radical
Village Tavern & Landlady – old fashioned place.
⟨Dance⟩ Wedding
Artillery of Schoolmasters Son –
Dinner – Ready Money at table – Schoolmaster makes speech.
Lady Joulyners[?] vehemence with Ready money –
illumination & fire works of vagabond soldier[154]

[*p. [108] blank*]

[*p. [109]*]
Under this cloud I walk Gentlemen, pardon my rude assault. I am a Traveller, who having surveyed most of the terrestrial angles of this globe, am hither arrived to peruse this little spot

CHRISTMAS ORDINARY[155]

[*p. [110]*]
Here we were interrupted by ⟨the s⟩ tremendous clamor of ⟨those⟩ Lady Lillycrafts dogs whom the ⟨Genl had accidentally⟩ trod on –
The genl had repeatdly fallen asleep during the reading & would breathe hard as if he said pish – once he made a singular guttural sound in his sleep which suddenly woke him – he hemmed – looked round with a little consternation & then began to play with her ladyships redcoat[156] ⟨[*unrecovered*]⟩

[*p. [111]*]
When I had finished the story the ⟨public⟩ company of course ex-

153. These almost illegible lines, "had . . . but," covering a full page, are crossed out with an *X*. They are early efforts that eventually matured in *Bracebridge Hall*, where Phoebe Wilkins, Julia Templeton, and Lady Lillycraft appear. See also "Annette Delarbre" in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 396–97).

154. Further jottings for *Bracebridge Hall*.

155. Unidentified.

156. It is at this point in the notebook that Irving continued his account of *The Sketch Book* by interpolating it into the *Bracebridge Hall* passages. These jottings for *Bracebridge Hall* are crossed out with an *X*. Some details are found in "The Student of Salamanca" (*Works*, IV, 282–83).

pressed many thanks and much satisfaction The Parson was very inquisitive about the superstitions mentiond in the work as they might furnish a few pages for his collection. I told him generally – that our superstitions in America were pretty generally ⟨tran⟩ reflections of the superstitions of Europe singularly blended together. As we had settlers from all nations. Those of NY were partly from Dutch, English & Germans though the Dutch predominatd – and now & then were mingled some traces of the old indian legends & superstitions which were feebly handed down[157] –

The Squire ⟨mas⟩ thanked me heartily for the story – the faith said he I may speak of some old authors tale in the words of Lilly in his Euphues[158]

I have come among wild men too late in the day to have my ⟨habitual⟩[159]

[*p. [112]*]

If with Euphues, thou hast told a long tale the beginning I have forgotten – the middle I do not understand & the end hangeth not well together [*long dash*]

[xx]to have my habitual mode of thinking changed –

In introduct. Effect on me of old titles – consequence of being born in a republic – gives me equality of feeling towards my fellow men – ⟨I cannot⟩ I feel no man to be beneath my notice I am taught to look down upon none but the really worthless with contempt – and ⟨and no man above⟩
⟨& no man above my classes⟩ to and to feel no commonness[?] of inferiority in the presence of any but the really & intrinsically great ⟨It In this I only rejoiced as again⟩ I am no contemner of little brains

157. Irving's keen interest in folklore and superstitions is well known. *Bracebridge Hall* contains a chapter on "Popular Superstitions." This and preceding passages are obviously early drafts of the kind of links Irving eventually wrote as transitional devices in *Bracebridge Hall* and *Tales of a Traveller.*

158. John Lyly or Lilly (1554?–1606), English dramatist and prose writer. His *Euphues*, published in two parts, *The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580), was one of the most admired and influential works of his time. The almost illegible quotation has not been located.

159. Because the page was crowded, Irving repeated the last words and continued the quotation on the next page as an interpolation, marked "[xx] to have . . . changed—" following the entry "If . . . together."

in our terestrial countries. they mark more of Education & liesure ⟨and who have the greate⟩ & independent Spirit – but I have been acustomd all my life to feel myself on an equality of right & privilege not very good [?] with when I appreciated[xx]

[*p. [113]*]

Lady Lillycraft - her page is seen – her fat dog ↑Zephyr↓ who is fed out of all comfort his eyes nearly out of his head can scarcely walk. ↑wrathful curmudgeon of a dog↓ a little grey old fellow that looks sick of the world, ↑[*three words unrecovered*] teeth out of his mouth↓ & can hardly keep his feet to the ground always makes for the fire & sits on the cushion – ↑she calls him ⟨blossom⟩ Zephyr tho↓ has gout and ↑heavn defend me from such a Zephyr –↓ half a dozen other elegant ailments – that never dog had before. looks out of the carriage window & barks at vulgar pedestrian dogs They bark whenever a door opens ⟨when⟩ suddenly & are a great annoyance to the Squire. I cannot but fancy his old stag hound looks down on them with great contempt – contrasted with the hardy dogs about the Hall

Lady Lillycraft's page in green, with gold band & cord about his head and a profusion of gold buttons.

General is very gallant to her – Master Simon suspects he has a design on her heart – he gets into disgrace by kicking one of her dogs ⟨wih⟩ which bark

[*p. [114]*]

Squires Sucroft[?] with his son. The officer has no chivalry & the Oxonian threatnes told a Dandy [*p. [115]*] story of french girl told in Phoebes hear[in]g who ⟨cries⟩ sobs aloud[160]

> No more, no more; much honour ay betide
> The lofty bridegroom & the lovely bride;
> That their succeeding days & years may say,
> Each day appears like to a marriage day.
>
> Braithwaites Strappado
> for the Devil[161]

> All hail to Hymen, & this marrige day!
> Strew rushes, maids and quickly come away.

160. Further composition in preparation for *Bracebridge Hall*, some of which was used in "The Widow's Retinue." The lines "Lady . . . bark" are crossed out.

161. Richard Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell* (London, 1615). A modern printing with introduction by J. W. Ebsworth (Boston, 1878), p. 77, shows slight variations in spelling and punctuation of these lines. Irving used the stanza to preface "The Wedding," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 542).

Bring in your flowers, & give of each of them
To such as lov'd, and are forsaken men.
Strew rushes maids & ever as you strew
Think one day, maids, like will be done for you.[162]

[*p. [116]*]

Cold winter ice is fled & gone.
And summer brags in every tree;
The red-breast peeps among the throng
Of wood-brown birds that wanton be.

– Uncertain Author.[163]

I do love these ancient ruins:
We never tread upon them but we set
Our foot upon some reverend history.

Webster[164]

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beauty, who yelped & made a dreadful clamour. Silence was at length restored When all the company expressed their thanks to the Captain – and gave various opinions of the Story – The girls pronounced it a very excellent one I am glad however said he that they burnt the old ⟨fellow Ive no⟩ Conjurer for I have no doubt he was a mere mountebank[165]

[*p. [117]*]

The serenity of the Hall has been a little interrupted by a sudden squall. In the course of this day ⟨we were surprised⟩ there was seen a posse of villagers trooping ⟨towards the⟩ up the Avenue and as they drew near we perceived in the front Ready Money Jack, ⟨with one his cudgel in on⟩ striding along, with his cudgel in one hand and in the other a stout rawboned ⟨sol⟩ fellow, who on nearer approach I recognized for the redoubtable Gipsey champion Tom Starlight – He was however completly cowed & crestfallen and seemed a mere child in the giant grip of Ready Money Jack. There was a whole troop of gypsey women & children trooping In the rear some in tears & others abusing Jack with Loud vociferation who howev[er] trudged on as solemn

[*p. [118]*]

Morrice dancer – Proofs however were too strong. Ready Money had caught him in the fact & the shape with here & there were too many

162. *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

163. Unidentified.

164. The opening lines from Antonio's first speech in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, V, iii.

165. With only slight changes Irving used these lines in the final paragraph of "The Student of Salamanca." It was "Lady Lillycraft's cur, the sleeping Beauty . . . " that the general had stepped on.

witnesses – Jack told his story with great plainess ⟨notwithstan⟩ notwithstandg & he was interruptd and ⟨called at by a fiery old gipsey the mother of the culprit⟩ by the gipsies – The culprit maintaind a dogged silence but there was his ⟨wife⟩ mother a fiery old gipsey woman who made a dreadful clamour ⟨at⟩ abusing Jack ⟨ca⟩ and almost ready to fly at him tooth & nail; and ⟨cam⟩ apt to beckon the squire. His wife too made a terrible clamour with tears & exclamat[ion] tho I am told he is apt to brushe cries away. ⟨she made me⟩ A pretty young gipsey girl seemd to be softening the hearts of some of the young gent & indeed the gipsey woman in the rear is now over at the little ladies [*p. [119]*] of the household. ⟨The facts however were too strong⟩ ⟨Just let The facts however were⟩ Lady Lillycraft was exceedingly moved by the lamentation of the wife ⟨& was⟩ said something to the Squire – but the ⟨latter⟩ case was too strong – the Squire was obligd to commit the culprit – and as it was late in the day and the ⟨county prison was at a⟩ village prison was out of repair he had to be confind in one of the outhouses –

⟨The house had been full of clamour ever since⟩ When the old pepper heartd huntsman mounts guard – The house has been full of distress ever since. The gipsey women have beleagered it moaning & bewailing & having knots of the ladies & ⟨chamb⟩ maid servts about the doors & under the trees – The culprits [*p. [120]*] mother has cruised about ↑Mallory↓ talking ⟨to He⟩ to himself – The beg has tried & ⟨also⟩ talking at the squire & at the house

Ready Money Jack was alread[y] all the way back to the village, but ⟨retired like a⟩ never heard a word that was said to him.

⟨Jac⟩ The ladies have earnd ⟨explanation⟩ all the sympathy of women who are always apt to take the part of the distressed right or wrong. Lady Lillycraft sees him in house – a modiste[?] has been sent to the Lodge – comforts & dainties of all kinds to the person who I dare say never fared so well in his life

The Squire in the mean time has sufferd more than any one. His sense of [*unrecovered*] & duty of his station obliges him to be rigid – but he is more [*unrecovered*] by the kindness of his own heart than the intreagues of the ladies or the wailings of the gipsies – He has been down-[*p. [121]*]heartd the whole evening – and I [']ll warrant will have a sleepless night as he considers himself instrumental in putting a poor fellow in a fair way to be hangd – This ⟨bound⟩ unlucky affair threatens to throw a ⟨cloud⟩ ↑shade↓

⟨Nothing⟩[?] over the gaiety of the approaching nuptials & has clouded every brow in this happy manner – *Morng* – The clouds of last evening have all blown away ⟨The⟩ A load has been taken off of the squire's heart & ⟨all⟩ every one is in smiles. ⟨The Gip⟩ Starlight Tom has made his escape during the night and there is very little likelihood

of his being retaken as he has gone off ⟨on one⟩ with one of the Squire[s] best hunters – The Squire has forbidden him to be pursued

[*p. [122]*]

– May Day – The[re] have been the usual Sports on the green. Young Jack Tibbets has carried off most of the prizes though he has ⟨been⟩ had a doughty antagonist in a tall swarthy Gipsey fellow – ⟨called Starlight Tom⟩ – The Squire pointd out the latter to me as a fellow of great adroitness in all kinds of games – and one that ⟨had⟩ was the best met with a cross bow & the best dancer of a morrice dance in the whole county. I have ⟨hard wink⟩ however said he to wink hard at this varlets misdeeds for he is a desperate poacher – and from his marauding is called Starlight tom throughout the neighbourhood –

– I saw on May day the gipsies busy about the skirts of the village – reading the hands of the country girls in [*p. [123]*] by lanes – And sometimes their sweethearts waiting at a little distance –

Gipsey trial – Master Simon acts as clerk. Old Huntsman ↑Gamekeeper↓ as constable – who seemd to have no ⟨favor f⟩ kindness for gipsies they havi[n]g poached.

Village worthies – school let out great herd ⟨that⟩ of boys & dogs that kept out before the house

boys come shouting up the avenue

Pretty baggage wheedling the Oxonian

Phebe the only one implacable – notwithstanding her usual softness thinks Mr Tibbets in the right – Little girls outragious agst Tibbets whom they look on as a Giant –

[*p. [124]*]

Few tales of this[?] of all things amiss go forth[?] lion & a lions justice

Auld Housekeeper in a violent Pas[s]i[o]n ⟨removes a⟩ She & butler remove all the silver things & keep ⟨righteous⟩ dragon watch with unenchantd eye[166]

[*p. [125]*]

Rx

Acidi Nitrici diluti	one dram
Decocti Ulmi	8 fluid ounces

3 tablespoonsfull twice a day

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166. Seven and a half pages, "The serenity . . . a Giant–," crossed out by Irving, are part of his jottings for *Bracebridge Hall*. Much found its way into the chapter "The Culprit," but there are also echoes in "May-Day" and in "Gypsies."

Rx Plumbi Carbonati 2 drams[167]

[*p. [126]*]

Old Christy accomps Squire & Dogs
goes round with his cabinet council
Game Keeper old Xty & Overseer[168]
Bachelor early in the Book – Genl takes Master Simon in hand –
Mulligatawny club –
Master Simon confesses in 2d vol –
Lady Lilleycrafts Maid Servts stare twd door – councils Phoebe to have nothing to do with the men whom she hates like poison[169]
Old Christy when the Gipsey disappears is ashamd to shew his face but returns and keeps alone all day in the Dog Kennel[170]

[*p. [127]*]

⟨Christy⟩ Servants think Christy has spirits He rides about the Country on an old Hunter & is always cruising about singly with his dogs & talkg to himself – Christy at beginning gives history of the stags horns & foxs heads & tails badgers &c.[171]

Christy once accompd the squire to Oxford & enlightend the whole university[172]

The bawdy joke of the author is pushed still further by the actor – it is caught & applauded with rapture by the upper rows of the galleries – the ladies in the dress circles are coverd with blushes, & thus is ⟨it a wretched buffo⟩ power put into the hands of a wretched buffoon to domineer over the modesty of hundreds of delicate women –

They must either give up the delightful amusements of the theatre altogether or submit to their insults

167. Not in Irving's writing, two prescriptions for ingredients no longer used medicinally. Dilute nitric acid and infusions of elm were common remedies for stomach and intestinal upsets. Lead carbonate was used as an astringent and applied to the skin. Written in ink.

168. Old Christy, the old huntsman in *Bracebridge Hall*, appears repeatedly throughout the narrative.

169. Further jottings for *Bracebridge Hall*; see "Love-Charms." (*Works*, IV, 177–78).

170. This comment is found in slightly altered form in last paragraph of "The Culprit." The entire section after the medical prescription, "Old Christy . . . Kennel," is crossed out.

171. The heavily inked "Rx" of p. 125 shows in this somewhat blurred passage partially used in *Bracebridge Hall*. See n. 172.

172. This sentence is almost verbatim in "The Busy Man," in *Bracebridge Hall*. See *Works*, IV, 26.

[*p. [128]*]
(Christy knows all about the old tree & when it was struck with lightning)

expand into the broad, weak shallow ineffectual stream called general Philanthropy

Xty thinks the Gipsey was aided by the Devil[173]

Phoebe flaunting on arm of ⟨fine⟩ ser[van]t – out of livery & affecting an air of gaiety & interest – talking girlishly & laughing at nothing – Corner by the green in the afternoon where young Jack and the Gipsey were wrestling – Phoebes eyes glancd on it – she thot it was a fight – Jack was thrown. they fell togeth[er] when Phoebe forgot every thing rushd thro the crowd siezed the ⟨Gipsey⟩ Starlight tom by the hair & began to maul him with her little hands. A great confusion ensud[.] she was taken off with difficulty & fell into Hysterics & was carried off the field. Young Jack was much moved. His mothe[r] in a panic & perplexed how to keep him followg the girl. Old Jack very much puzz[l]d to understand the meaning[174]

[*p. [129]*]
Mr Lastranza
Friend of Drama (trupp) trumpet
Courtiers dressed in poor costumes
Palace brilliant[l]y illuminatd
Spacious place – temporary galleries
family armorial trophies
And however strange the ghost & goblin part may seem, it was ne[']er doubted questio[ned] for a moment by any of his guests ⟨I must⟩ ⟨we[?] must test⟩ It stands as well authent[icated] strange as most stories of the kind though I must note[?] must listen

[*two leaves torn out between pp. [129–30]*]

[*p. [130]*]
The ghost & goblin part may seem incredible to some but it stands as well authentic[ated] as almost any tale of the kind for it ⟨the⟩ & it

173. Further jottings, in part pertaining to *Bracebridge Hall*. The passage "The bawdy . . . insults," is upside down at bottom of page in ink. The passage "expand . . . Philanthropy" is also in ink.

174. Further jottings, crossed out and not used in *Bracebridge Hall*.

is to be [*unrecovered*] ⟨some fr⟩ [*unrecovered*] the authority the beggr himself & was never questiond by
any of his guests I must not omit to [*unrecovered*]
however [⟨↑*unrecovered*↓⟩] in

I have given the story faithfully as he related it, ⟨for it rests entirely on his Authority.⟩ He never told the valet till towards the latter part of his life and then in great confidence for he was discreet – to a few of his confidents – fond [friends] over a supplemental bot[tle] after drams[?] ⟨The ghost & goblin parts of the story always started little I think but⟩ The story rests entirely on his authority [*three words unrecovered*] the ghost & goblin part [*twenty words unrecovered*] I need not omit the others knew

Dolph Heyliger was noted for being the ablest drawer of the long bow of the whole province[175]

[*p. [131]*]

like a fellow ascending in a ballon who throws out ballast as he rises until he gets into so elevated a region that he can hardly breathe

Man surprized at attention & kindness[.] he had been accustomd always to lead a vagabond bachelor life like the life of a homeless tomcat that meets with no ⟨notice⟩ attention except to have a stone thrown at it occasionally

Littledale Hall
A Chance Medley
By
Geoffrey Crayon Gent.[176]

[*p. [132]*]

To separate the article about Dogs and the goal [gaol]

Lady Lillycraft – her establishment – Her house furnishd with soft cushions – Sophas – sweetbags; flowers – Parrots – Dogs &c [–] the whole house smell of perfumes – she dines at 3 – ⟨and has Roast beef but⟩ ⟨has⟩ Her servants well fed – for herself she eats chicken – white meat &c very dainty ↑cooking for her dogs↓ Domineerd over by fat Coachman and starched chambermaid ⟨& would⟩ & cheated by every one that deals with her.[177]

175. Random jottings, almost illegible, that are early drafts for *Bracebridge Hall*. The entry "Dolph . . . province" appears as the last sentence in "Dolph Heyliger."

176. A tentative title for what Irving finally called *Bracebridge Hall or the Humourists. A Medley by Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*

177. Partially used in the chapter, "The Widow," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 38–42).

⟨The arrival of Lady Lillycraft and her retinue had⟩
Separate May day – Speak of old Christy who walks the country followed by a pack of hounds & dogs of all kinds – can tell the history of every stags head or foxes pelt tha's nailed agst the door of the Dog Kennel. On Wedding – old Christy dressed out in a new jockey Cap & leathers – much agst his will.[178]

[*p. [133]*]
⟨I was very⟩
I forgot to mention the ⟨other day arri⟩ ↑entertainment↓ which I had the other day of Lady Lillycrafts arrival, in witnessing the unpacking of her travelling carriage, ⟨which was like in some respects like Noahs Ark⟩ and the disposing of her retinue. If any one has watched the preparations for the progress of one of the [*unrecovered*] they must know what I mean This always matter of amusement to me
I must ⟨rather [*unrecovered*] th⟩ give some notes of the retinue that accompd her Ladyship to the Hall & descended from her travellg carriage which is a kind of rush act[179]

Walsh – tho when I look over her writings & see how ⟨wildly he has is at various he⟩ he abounds with capital contradiction. I ⟨am no longer so⟩ can no longer wonder that a man who cannot agree with himself should disagree with all the world beside[180]

[*p. [134]*]
⟨Selym Mss con⟩
Selym Ms vol – commencing with sonnets – then epithataniums – and ending with epitaphs –

Bachelorpost – begins with sonnets and ends with receipts for colds, rheumatism &c

Sir said an Eng. to me these french are all for splendid misery – damn if french gaiety would not drive me mad – Sir said a frenchmn to me, if I were reduced to Eng: comfort I'd blow out my brains.[181]

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178. Somewhat revised in "The Busy Man," in *Bracebridge Hall.*
179. Partially used in the opening paragraph of "The Widow's Retinue," in *Bracebridge Hall.*
180. The passage, "Walsh . . . beside," is upside down at bottom of page.
181. The entries "<Selym . . . brains" are written in ink.

Genl. He begins to soften more & more & to put on an air of venerable gallantry – presents her Ladyship with ⟨a rose⟩ a full blown rose from the Hothouse – and entertains her with long stories about Seringapatam and the Muligatawny Club –

The Genl is completely in Master Simons power for if the latter tells half what he has said about matrimony & bachelors he has no chance with her Ladyship [*p. [135]*] It may be only habitual flirtation but Master Simon thinks the Genl ⟨wants to fit into⟩ now he is growg old is discussg of getting into warm winter quarters & doubts whether Master Simon with all his friendship is propitious to it as he looks upon Lady Lillycrafts views[?] of his strong holds[182]

[*pencil sketch of stairway in lower half of page*]

[*p. [136]*]

no one here dead
Go to thy deathbed

Ceremonies & religious customs of various nations
Bernard Picart
Label/Religious Ceremonies[183]

Bilton Hall
Warwickshire
formerly Addisons[184]

Old servant with vouchers of old housekeeping [–] they are like cats in a mansion or mice in a cheese bespeaking the antiquity of their habitation & the goodness of their cheese[185]

[*p. [137]*]

De Tastet – Portuguese[186]

Bishops gate Church Yard or Aldermans Walk
old building formerly occupied by Bishop – near De Tastet

182. Further jottings for *Bracebridge Hall* where at the end of the chapter "Bachelors" the Mulligatawney Club and the talk about Seringapatam are found. The entire passage, "Genl. . . . holds," is crossed out.

183. *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the various Nations of the known World* . . . , 7 vols. (London, 1733–1739). The illustrations were from copperplates designed by Mr. Bernard Picart.

184. Joseph Addison (1672–1719) purchased Bilton Hall with a thousand acres of land for £8000 in 1713 and became lord of the manor of Bilton, near Rugby in Warwickshire.

185. The passage "Old . . . cheese" is upside down at bottom of page.

186. Unidentified.

Spanish gipsies. necks & ears loaded with trinkets & baubles
Pont l Torgen Pays d Ange[187] celebrated for great fertility of its paysage[?]
Aug 21. fair of Gailbray[188]

[*p. [138]*]
Pauw on Greeks Octavo 26.8[189]
Archaologia —— 13[190]
Brand vol 1[191]
Godwins Chaucer Oct 4/8g[192]
Harts Gustavus 2g5[193]
Strutts Antq. Q[uar]to 11/9[194]
—— Sports & 11[.]02[195]
Harleian Qto 44[196]
17 vol Modern Hist Spain 128[197]

187. Pays d'ange, angel's country, a rich and fertile section of France.

188. The passage "Spanish . . . Gailbray" is upside down at bottom of page.

189. Some of the following book titles have prices in shillings and pence added. Cornelius de Pauw, *Philosophical Dissertations on the Greeks*, 2 vols. (London, 1793).

190. Irving made numerous extracts from *Archæologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, beginning in 1770. See pp. 365–69.

191. John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities:* . . . . Irving used this often reprinted and revised work and copied from it. See pp. 369–70 and n. 146. Irving refers to the works of Brand and Strutt in "A Literary Antiquary," in *Bracebridge Hall* (*Works*, IV, 113).

192. William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer . . . including memoirs of . . . John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster . . .* , 2 vols. (London, 1803).

193. Walter Harte, *History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden . . .* (London, 1759). Irving borrowed this history some years later from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 235–36.

194. Joseph Strutt, *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England: containing in a compleat series the representations of all the English monarchs, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the Eighth . . .* (London, 1773).

195. Joseph Strutt, *Glig-Gamena Angel-Deod., or the Sports and Pastimes of the People of England . . . from the earliest period to the present time . . .* (London, 1801).

196. *The Harleian Miscellany: a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts . . . found in the late Earl of Oxford's library*, 8 vols. (London, 1744–1746). Numerous reprints and selections from this collection were also available by 1815. Irving, having copied selections from Dibdin's *Bibliomania* into this notebook, must have been aware also of *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* (London, 1759) and the analysis of the Harleian Library appearing in *Bibliomania*, pp. 120, 460–68.

197. Possibly a reference to Juan de Ferreras, *Synopsis Historica chronologica de*

La – Vernons & Manners[198]
Potters Greek Antq[199]

[*p. [139]*]

Oly Kocks
Crullers
Dough nuts
Mynheer[200] –

Braithwaites Nursery for Gentry
——— English Gent –
——— Gentlewoman[201]
Lord Somers tracts
a reprint under the superintendance
of Walter Scott[202] –

el Medina De Veyga
de⟨s⟩ Sylvevia[203]

España; 16 parts (Madrid, 1700-1727). A new edition published 1775–1791 is listed in 17 volumes. Beginning with part 3 the title was *Historia de España*. A French translation in 10 volumes, *Histoire générale d' Espagne*, appeared 1742–1751.

198. The early ancestors of the lords of Haddon Hall were the De Vernons and the Manners. Perhaps Irving wrote "La" for "De."

199. John Potter, *Archæologiæ Græcæ: or, the Antiquities of Greece*, 2 vols. (London, 1699). The tenth edition was available by 1813.

200. "Oly Kocks," Dutch crullers. The name indicates being cooked in deep fat. Irving copied a recipe for such crullers in the second Notebook of 1818. See p. 279.

201. Richard Brathwaite (or Braithwaite), *The Schollers Medley; or, a Nursery for gentry. Contrived and comprized in an intermixt discourse upon historicall and politicall relations* . . . (London, 1638). Though first republished in 1814, only the editions beginning with 1638 include the subtitle "a Nursery for gentry." Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman: containing sundry excellent rules of exquisite observations, tending to direction of every gentleman . . . how to demeane or accomodate himself in the manage of publike or private affaires* (London, 1630). Richard Brathwaite, *the English Gentlewoman, drawne out to the full body: expressing, what habilliments doe best attire her, what ornaments doe best adorne her, what complements doe best accomplish her* (London, 1631).

202. John Baron Somers (1651–1716), lord chamberlain of England, left a valuable library which furnished the basis for the collection called *The Somers Tracts*, first published 1748–1752. Irving refers to the second edition, *A Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts* . . . , 13 vols. (London, 1809–1815).

203. The names "el Medina . . . Sylvevia" are upside down at bottom of page. Identifications are difficult. Possibly a reference to Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, seventh duke of Medina Sidonin (1550–1615), commander-in-chief of the Spanish Armada. In the second volume of *The Harleian Miscellany* is an article (pp. 42–47), "Orders set down by the Duke of Medina, Lord General of the King's Fleet, to be observed in the voyage towards England." The entries "Oly . . . Sylvevia" are written in ink.

JOURNAL, APRIL 1821

These eight pages from Irving's journal entries for April, 1821, are in the collection of Irvingiana in the Beinecke Library of Yale University.

[No]tes about Talma
April 1821[1]

Paris. April 25, 1821

Breakfasted this morning with John Howard Payne.[2] He has the first floor of a small house, in a garden No 16. Petite rue de St Peter, Pont aux choux[3] – As the morning was fine & the air soft and ⟨springlike – his apartments⟩ His ⟨windows⟩ casements were thrown open & ⟨the⟩ breezes that blew in were extremely grateful – – He has a couple of canary birds, with a little perch, ornamented with moss – He stands it in the window & they fly about the garden & return to their perch for food, and to rest at night

[*p. [2] blank*]

[*p. [3]*]

Payne is full of dramatic projects, and some that are very feasible[4] – After breakfast we strolled along the Boulevards gossipping; staring

1. The manuscript consists of two folded sheets, making eight pages of which page 2 is blank. A waterstained wrapper, partly torn away and held together by sealing wax, bears the inscription "Notes about Talma" in Irving's hand in ink. "April 1821" in pencil and "Talma" in ink were added in a strange hand. Irving used the subtitle "From Rough Notes in a Common-Place Book" when he published them as "Conversations with Talma." See note 5 below.

2. John Howard Payne (1791–1852), the American dramatist, poet, and actor, whom Irving had known since 1807 and of whom he saw much more in Paris in 1823, when Irving collaborated with him on plays and adaptations for the London stage. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III.

3. Payne lived in the vicinity of the Boulevard du Temple at 16 Rue de la Petite-Pierre, a street that still exists. "Pont aux Choux" (Bridge of the Cabbages) probably referred to a nearby public market. Irving addressed a letter dated April 30, 1821, to Payne "Petite Rue de St. Pierre No. 16." See *Letters*, I, 631.

4. Payne, who had come to Paris after being released from debtor's prison in London, was entering upon the most successful period of his dramatic writing. Six adaptations, *Love in Humble Life*, *Adeline; or, the Victim of Seduction*, *Ali Pacha*, *The Two Galley Slaves*, a revival of *Brutus*, and *The Solitary of Mount Savage*

at groupes & sights & signs, & looking over Booksellers stalls. ⟨He wished⟩ He proposed to me to call on Talma, who had just returned to Paris.[5] He has a suite of apartments in a Hotel No. [*blank*] rue des petites Augustines – He has a seat in the country about [*blank*] miles from Paris of which he is extremely fond; ⟨tho' he⟩ & is continually altering & improving though he can seldom get there above once a week. He is about to build a town residence & at present lives in lodgings – ⟨His room⟩ I got Payne to mount before me as I did not wish to call on Talma so unceremonously Payne found him changing his linen – He requested him immediately to bring me up – On entering he received me in a very friendly frank way – & turning to Payne said – Why he is quite a young man – – [*p. [4]*] it seems he had expected to see an old one. His room was full of furniture – and books &c ⟨all⟩ rather confused – I remarked a coloured engraving of John Kemble[6] –

Talma is about 5 feet ⟨8 Inches⟩ 7 or 7½ Inches English – rather inclined to fat – with large face & thick neck – His eyes are bluish & have a peculiar cast in them at times – He speaks English well, and is very frank, and animated and natural in conversation – a fine, hearty, simplicity of manners – Asked me if this was my first visit to Paris – told him that I had been here once before – about 14 years since – ⟨but that I saw a great change⟩ "Ah! that was in the time of the Emperor" said he. He remarked that Paris was very much changed – thinks the french character greatly changed – more grave – You see the young men from the [*p. [5]*] colledges said he – How grave they are – ⟨walking⟩ they walk together – conversing incessantly on ⟨schools⟩ politics & other grave ⟨subjets⟩ ↑subjects.↓ Says the nation has become as grave as the English –

⟨I mentioned⟩ ↑⟨observed⟩↓ ⟨that I thought the nation had altered. He then⟩ We spoke of the french play of Hamlet.[7] I asked if ⟨they⟩ other

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were performed in London between February and November of 1822. His fame, however, was established with the song "Home, Sweet Home" in *Clari*, opening at the Covent Garden Theatre, May 8, 1823.

5. Irving's meeting with the great actor, François Joseph Talma (1763–1826), occurred on April 25, 1821. Irving had first seen him on the stage on May 29, 1805, and saw him repeatedly in the theater and socially in 1823, as indicated by his journal entries. Irving utilized these notes almost verbatim in his "Conversations with Talma," first published in *The Knickerbocker Gallery: A Testimonial to the Editor of the Knickerbocker Magazine from its Contributors* (New York, 1855) and reprinted in *Spanish Papers and Other Miscellanies* (New York, 1866). See *Works*, XVII, 183–93.

6. John Philip Kemble (1757–1823), one of the distinguished members of the celebrated family of actors, disappointed Irving with his performance. For a detailed criticism see Irving's undated journal entry of October, 1806 (*Journals and Notebooks*, I, 457).

7. Talma's creation of the role of Hamlet was one of his great dramatic successes despite the concessions to French taste in the adaptation of Jean François

of Shakespeares plays were adapting for french stage – He believed not – He thinks there is likely to be a great change in French drama. The public feel greater interest in scenes that ⟨intro⟩ come home to common life & people in ordinary situations, than in the distresses of the heroic personages of classical literature – Hence they never come to the Theatre Francaise except to see a few great actors – but they crowd to the minor theatres to see the representations of ordinary life – He says the revolution has made so many strong & vivid scenes of real life pass before their eyes, that they can no longer be affected by mere declamation & fine [*p. [6]*] language, they require character, incident, passion – life –

Says if there should be another revolution it would be a bloody one – The nation (I E the younger part, children of the revolution) have such a hatred of the priests & noblesse that they would fly upon them like sheep – Mentions the manner in which certain parts of plays have been applauded lately at Rouen – – one part which said " – usurpers *were* not always Tyrants["] When we were coming away he followed us to the door of his antechamber – in passing thro the latter I saw childrens swords & soldiers caps lying on the table & said your ⟨very⟩ children I see have swords for play things – he replied with animation that all the amusements of the children *were* military – that they would have nothing to play with but ⟨swords guns⟩ swords – guns – trumpets Drums &c

[*p. [7]*]

Dined at Mr Storeys.[8] Among other company present were Mr T Moore (the poet) & his wife[9]

April 26

Called to see Holbrook, who has been very ill. Lives at Madam Valenciennes – Jardin des plantes. His good Hostess & her daughters are extremely kind & attentive to him. He is attended by Dr. Archer, a

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Ducis. For details of this version see "Talma Revives 'Hamlet,'" in Herbert F. Collins, *Talma* (London, 1964), pp. 156–63.

8. Mr. and Mrs. John Story (not Storey) were friends of Thomas Moore, whose diary entry for April 25, 1821, includes: "Dined at Story's: company, Cope, Irving, &c.&c." See *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. Lord John Russell (London, 1853–1856), III, 225. Irving corresponded with this family early in 1824 and saw them repeatedly in London in the summer of that year. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III.

9. Thomas Moore (1779–1852), whom Irving had met in Paris, December 21, 1820, and saw frequently at this time and again in England in 1824. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III and *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, IV.

handsome young englishman, studying medicine, and one who has known Holbrook at Edinburgh.[10]

Dined ⟨at⟩ with Captain & Lady Elizabeth Fielding 17 Rue de Clichy[11] – ⟨a house⟩ their apartments look into the garden of Tivoli ⟨& are⟩ which ⟨are⟩ ↑is↓ in its full beauty from the present warm spring weather. At dinner was Mr Bankes,[12] the traveller who was extremely entertaining.

Bankes thinks the Newgate Kalender[13] contains more instruction; more knowledge of human life and [*p. [8]*] human nature; more curious anecdotes of manners & customs than ⟨any other⟩ is to be met in any other reading & says if he were asked to choose between the calender & novels & romances, ⟨f⟩ to be put into the hands of youth he would choose the calender.

Mentioned the beautiful instance of the acuteness of human intellect in the escape of some prisoners ⟨th⟩ from NGate prison by means of the great drain or Sewer –

They heard the noise of carriages ⟨pas⟩ that were passing & were certain ⟨they⟩ the sound could not be so distinctly communicated by the walls – that the great drain must pass under their prison. They took an opportunity, raised the pave[men]t – dug down & found it – They descended into the sewer & but unluckily (he would say unluckily ⟨beq⟩ because he always felt interested in the escape of prisoners) they took the upper direction of the drain instead of the lower which would have led to the river – They were so exhausted & stifled by the foul & noisome air that they had at length to get to a grating that let in air from above & ⟨beg to be re⟩ to call out & beg for relief.

He speaks of the oriental taste of Venice – their love for Damask &c from their communications with the east – He says he was glad to find the damask rose was of a pale pink colour, which reconciled him to Shakespeares passage of "preying on her damask cheek"[14]

10. Mr. Holbrook, Mme. Valenciennes, and Dr. Archer are unidentified aequaintances in Paris.

11. Captain Fielding (later admiral), a neighbor and friend of Thomas Moore, lived at Layeoek Abbey. His wife, Lady Elizabeth, was the daughter of the second earl of Ilehester and a sister of the marchioness of Lansdowne. Thomas Moore saw mueh of the Fieldings in Paris during 1820–1821. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III.

12. William Bankes (d. 1855), a member of Parliament, had traveled in the East, and was a friend of Moore and Byron.

13. *The Newgate Calendar*, reprinted many times, is based on Captain Charles Johnson's *A General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers, &c . . .* (London, 1734). A reeent five-volume edition, *The Complete Newgate Calendar*, was privately printed for the Navarre Society (London, 1936).

14. The eorreet quotation from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, II, iv, 115 reads "feed on her damask cheek."

JOURNAL, MAY 5, 1821

These two pages from Irving's journal entries, dated May 5, 1821, are in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. The second page has only four lines of writing which completes the entry, but the rest of the page shows a legible mirror image in ink transferred from across the page.

⟨Lady⟩
May 5th. 1821.[1] called this morning on Lady Granard,[2] whom I found reading Lord Byrons Tragedy of the Doge of Venice[3] On the table were lying strings of roman pearl and venetian beads – which had been purchased for her by some travelling friend. They were intended for her Daughters Lady Adelaide & Caroline Forbes,[4] but she said the venetian beads were only fit to give to the Butlers daughter –

Old Lady expressed her fondness for old chronicles – she had read chronicles of Acquitaine & Anjou ⟨who⟩ which they had in their Library at home – & she had sought for others in France, but could not find them – they had been bought up. Spoke with indignation of the Band Croise[5] which is buying up & destroying the castles of France. The nobility too poor to withstand them –

She told me of a large Collection of Mss: letters of the famous Countess of Ormond who lived 120 years.[6] They have descended into

1. Irving was in Paris at this time.

2. Lady Selina Rawdon, daughter of the first earl of Moira, became Lady Granard as the wife of George Forbes, sixth earl of Granard (1760–1837) in the peerage of Ireland, and first Baron Granard in the United Kingdom. Irving saw much of this family in Paris during 1823–1825. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III.

3. *Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice* was performed in London in 1821.

4. Irving also saw these daughters of Lady Granard frequently in Paris during 1823–1825.

5. Possibly "bande croisée," which would indicate a crusading band.

6. The earls of Ormonde, an ancient and distinguished family in the peerage of Ireland, had their seat at Kilkenny Castle. Burke's *Peerage* lists no such long-lived countess, but records that Edward IV recognized John Butler (d. 1478) as the sixth earl of Ormonde though his brother James, the fifth earl, was beheaded in 1461 by the Yorkists. Edward IV is reported to have said "that if good breeding and liberal qualities were lost in the world they might all be found in the Earl of Ormonde." Irving met a Countess Ormond[e] at Lady Granard's on September 18, 1825, in Paris. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 519.

the possession of ⟨se Cu⟩ Sr. Michael Lefleming,[7] a mere hunting & shooting Cumberland Squire. She has been half her life in ⟨sear⟩ quest of them – once talked with the lady who had owned them – "oh said she you would not have found them interesting *they contained only the chit chat of the day* – The Countess of Ormond had danced with Richard the third & it is traditional that she declared him the best dancer of the court excepting his brother Edward.[8] Her letters would give ⟨an⟩ ⟨long⟩ anecdotes of a long period of history – to James 2d[9] [*the manuscript ends here*]

7. Sir Michael Le Fleming, the twenty-third in succession from the progenitor of the family, assumed the title of knight of Rydal Hall, Westmoreland, in 1756. The family held numerous estates in Cumberland.

8. Edward IV (1442–1483) was king of England (1461–1483) and leader of the Yorkist party. Though forced to flee in 1470 to Holland when opposed by the earl of Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, queen of the deposed Henry VI, he defeated his enemies at Tewkesbury and became king again in 1471. Richard III (1452–1485), younger brother of Edward IV, had himself proclaimed king, attacking the legitimacy of Edward's children and imprisoning them in the Tower. He was killed in the battle of Bosworth Field by the earl of Richmond, who ascended the throne as Henry VII.

9. James II of Scotland (1430–1460) was king from the age of seven but ruled in his own right from 1449. A supporter of Lancaster in the Wars of the Roses, he invaded England and was killed at the siege of Roxburgh.

NOTATION 1822

This brief note is in The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Learned men are fond of being admired for things in which they do not excel; but are apt to grow indifferent to the real sources of their celebrity. Cuvier is impatient of ⟨being⟩ talking about natural history and comparative anatomy, and delights in political conversation. He says he only studied natural history for his amusement but that political economy is his forte – He is a very indifferent politician and the best comparative anatomist in the world.

Washington Irving
London March 23/1822.[1]

1. Baron Georges Cuvier (1769–1832), the great French naturalist, was a pioneer in the science of comparative anatomy. Irving met him twice in April, 1824, in Paris at the home of the duchess of Duras. See *Journals and Notebooks*, III, 316, 324.

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